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CONTENTS

COMPULSORY DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY

M. J. BONN

THE DUTCH AND INDONESIA

J. T. BROCKWAY

REPORT ON FRANCE

A. F. WILLS

FINLAND UNDER COMMUNISM

O. M. GREEN

GERMANY'S DEVELOPMENT PLAN

ARTHUR M. FOYLE

HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS

J. MACALISTER BREW

JUST

E. L. GRANT WATSON

JEZREEL—A Poem

LORD GORELL

PERSPECTS OF DISTANCE—A Poem

GLORIA KOMAI

FRANCO-GERMAN WAR DIARY

DAVID OGILVY

Correspondence—Power Conflicts in South-East Asia.

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THE FORTNIGHTLY

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JULY, 1949

CONTENTS

	PAGE
COMPULSORY DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY. BY M. J. BONN	1
THE DUTCH AND INDONESIA. BY J. T. BROCKWAY	9
REPORT ON FRANCE. BY A. F. WILLS	14
CHINA UNDER COMMUNISM. BY O. M. GREEN	20
NIGERIA'S DEVELOPMENT PLAN. BY ARTHUR M. FOYLE	27
HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS. BY J. MACALISTER BREW	33
DUST. BY E. L. GRANT WATSON	40

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IN JEZREEL— <i>A Poem.</i> BY LORD GORELL	46
ASPECTS OF DISTANCE— <i>A Poem.</i> BY GLORIA KOMAI	48
A FRANCO-GERMAN WAR DIARY. BY DAVID OGILVY	49
CORRESPONDENCE—Power Conflicts in South-East Asia. Sir William Oudendyk	58

THE FORTNIGHTLY LIBRARY :

BOOKS FROM SWITZERLAND. BY RENÉ ELVIN 59

Other Contributors : *Ewan Wallis-Jones, John Sowels, R. M. Graves, Owen Tweedy, Henry Baerlein, Norman Nicholson, Grace A. Wood, Lettice Cooper, F. W. Wentworth-Sheilds, Grace Banyard.*

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WOMEN AND CHILDREN... FIRST

Recently in a National Daily newspaper there appeared a letter from the wife of a farm labourer. She is so completely happy and feels herself so blessed with her husband, her children, and her home life, that she wants to give a holiday to some weary mother and family who otherwise would not be able to afford it, that they, too, may know happiness for even a short time.

I wonder whether we are in danger of forgetting about the mothers and children who just cannot afford a holiday—and there are still countless families in this unfortunate position. True, many slums have been cleared away, but many still remain, and many families are still forced to live in incredible conditions of overcrowding. New Social Services have taken many burdens from bowed shoulders; but,

as C.A. Sisters will testify, countless women are at breaking point with the strain of keeping a hard-working husband, and quickly growing children fed on the austere rations of to-day.

It is for such as these that the Church Army appeals... that mothers may be given a week or a fortnight away at one of the Church Army Homes—oh yes, with the children; but they will be taken off her shoulders by the Church Army Sisters at the Home. Hers just to relax her body and mind; and absorb into her very being the beauty and bounty of God's good air and sunshine.

£7 will give a mother and two children a fortnight's holiday, and gifts will be welcomed by: Rev. Preb. Hubert H. Treacher, General Secretary and Head, Church Army, 55, Bryanston Street, London, W.1.

THE CHURCH ARMY

THE FORTNIGHTLY

JULY, 1949

COMPULSORY DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY

BY M. J. BONN

THE most perplexing venture in this age of constitution mending and making is the drafting of a constitution for western Germany at the behest of her Military Government. The policy of unconditional surrender created a vacuum, and prevented the formation of a German government. The Allies had to take over. They divided Germany into four administrative zones, each to be administered by a military commander. The four commanders formed the Control Council—the *de facto* government of Germany. Their decisions had to be unanimous and to apply indiscriminately to each zone, for Germany was to be treated as an economic unit. The Allies settled at Yalta and Potsdam the principles of their policy ; they had to leave the interpretation to each government. It might have been foreseen that Bolshevik and non-Bolshevik readings would not tally.

The Allies meant to dismember or at least to federalize Germany. They planned to break up the “excessive economic power” inherent in large estates, cartels and combines. Besides punishing all war criminals and eliminating all active Nazis from important business or administrative posts, they sought to re-educate Germany in the ways of democracy. They hoped moreover to get ample reparations from her. This attempt of four nations with conflicting ideologies to remake 66 million people into their own image was probably the most ambitious planning ever undertaken.

II

The Allies demolished the *Reich*. Having cut off “provisionally” all but a remnant of Prussia’s six old provinces, they declared the Prussian State defunct. They transferred its functions and those of the *Reich*, which they did not reserve to themselves, to the *Länder* (States) which had formed the *Reich*, and to the surviving Prussian provinces which they turned into *Länder*, five in the Russian, four each in the American and the British and three in the French zone. Berlin with over three million inhabitants, was to be run as a condominium, by the Allied *Kommandatura*, though it was cut up in national sectors. The Military Government stepped into the shoes of the unitarian Nazi *Reich*, so to speak, decentralized it and dele-

gated administrative powers to the *Länder*. Each zone Commander made his *Länder* adopt a "democratic constitution", and elected parliaments on a more or less democratic franchise.

The British had insisted on the economic unity of Germany; but the temptation to treat each zone as a separate bailiwick could not be resisted. The eastern zone from which Russia was to draw reparations, was sharply cut off from the west. Russia, as her Allies saw it, over-exploited it. She refused to co-operate with them in an overall German economic policy before the foundations of a Soviet system were laid, and the uncontrolled reparation harvest brought in. She preferred, temporarily at least, the sovietization of a separate eastern Germany to the joint administration of a united country. She did not mind the progressive deterioration of western economics, which resulted from this policy of partition. The Anglo-Americans had to keep western Germans alive at very high costs to their taxpayers. Instead of receiving reparations, America alone had to spend 1,150 million dollars in a single year. She had to reverse her policy and to work for the union of the two Anglo-American zones, which was finally agreed upon in December 1947. In June 1947 a Bizonal Economic Council was established. Its 54 members were chosen by the eight bizonal *Länder*.

A year later the Anglo-Americans tackled the main problem; they imposed a currency reform on western Germany. It resulted in a startling economic recovery. The Russians protested against this independent action as violating Potsdam. They countered it first by the almost simultaneous stabilization of the mark in their zone, and finally by the blockade of Berlin. They suddenly denounced partition and clamoured for German unity, withdrawal of the armies of occupation, and a peace treaty with a united Germany. The Anglo-Americans had to realize that military government must come to an end. They had gained the consent of the French to the organization of the Ruhr Authority (June 7, 1948) and of a Military Occupation Statute, and asked the German *Länder* to prepare a constitution for western Germany.

III

The Germans did not fancy making a constitution to order. They had had an extremely democratic constitution from 1919 to 1933. They recoiled from calling a régime democratic under which essential sovereign rights remained in the hands of alien governments. They argued that the publication of the Occupation statute which would delineate the rights reserved by the Allies, must precede the constitution. The Allies refused their demand, but promised to publish the statute simultaneously with the constitution. The strongest opposi-

tion on the German side came from the socialists. They had to face the competition of the communists ; they could neither afford to appear unconcerned over the unity of Germany and the fate of the Eastern zone, nor expose themselves to the reproach of playing at mock democracy. They disliked moreover the insistence on federalism by the Allies. They finally gave way, mainly on pressure from Berlin, whose position might be strengthened were Russia faced with the accomplished fact of a western German State. The Allies consented to the meeting being called a "Parliamentary Council" and not a "Constituent Assembly" ; it was to draft a basic statute, not a constitution.

The Parliamentary Council consisted of 65 members delegated by the parliaments of the eleven *Länder*. It was dominated by the Christian Democrat Union (C.D.U.), including eight separatist-minded members of the Christian Social Union (C.S.U.) and the Social Democratic Party of Germany (S.P.D.). Each had 27 delegates ; there were two communists, five liberals, two centre party (related to Christian Democrats) and two German Party (nationalists). Representatives from Berlin sat in with the Council. It met in September and finished its work in May 1949. Originally a plebiscite had been planned, but the statute became valid after two-thirds of the *Länder* had agreed to it ; on May 23, all but Bavaria had accepted it.

The Military Governments had advised the *Länder* governments that the statute must be democratic and federal ; they had reserved the right to approve it. During the deliberations at Bonn frequent official and unofficial contacts were made. Events favoured the course of the proceedings. The success of the currency reform had given new hope to the people ; the stout resistance of Berlin by the Berliners and by the Allied airlift raised the political morale ; the brutality of the blockade greatly discredited the communists. The strong objections of the Marshall Plan administrators to further dismantlings promised the end of destructive reparations. The rise of "Western Union" implied the integration of western Germany with her neighbours as an equal—at least in the long run.

On the other hand French fears, intensified by the Anglo-American decision to let a future German government decide the ownership of the iron and steel industry, led to a re-discussion of the Ruhr Authority. A renewed opposition of France and Britain to the cessation of removals held up agreement with the United States.

IV

The overwhelming preponderance of Prussia had given all pre-Nazi German federal constitutions a unitarian aspect, in as much as in all essential issues, Prussia's will was bound to prevail. Yet this

had led to great factual independence of the *Länder*. Since their predominant partner could not be coerced by the *Reich*, others especially Bavaria, claimed the same privilege and went sometimes far beyond their constitutional rights.

The basic statute is federal. The 11 *Länder* which at present form the *Deutsche Bundesrepublik* are better balanced than their predecessors. They enjoy greater "State rights" than in the Weimar Republic, but very much smaller ones than in the Hohenzollern Empire. They are no longer sovereign States, though they can conclude some foreign treaties by consent of the *Bund* government. With the exception of Bavaria, Hamburg and Bremen, they are "artefacts", put together or cut apart by the Allies. Their frontiers can be redrawn by the *Bund* in accordance with historic, cultural and economic principles. Only in Bavaria a vehement craving for separate Statehood is articulate. The *Bund's* legislative powers supersede those of the *Länder*. They extend exclusively over foreign affairs, population policy, currency and money, commerce and trade, railways, airways, post, telegraph and telephone. Powers over most other matters are left to the *Länder*, but the *Bund* can share them and take action whenever the issue cannot be dealt with by a single *Land*, or when a single *Land's* legislation would adversely affect other *Länder* or the common weal, or when legal or economic conditions demand uniform treatment.

The Bismarckian revenue was originally limited to customs and excise. It was, so to speak, on the payroll of the States, who had to meet its deficits. The Weimar constitution inverted this relation; it vested supreme taxing power and the administration of most important taxes in the *Reich*, though the *Länder* shared their proceeds. The parliamentary council after a prolonged struggle between unitarian socialists and State-right Christian democrats—the latter enjoying the sympathies of the Military Government—reached a compromise. Customs and excise (with one or two exceptions), the turnover tax, taxes on particular transactions and an occasional not recurrent property tax were assigned to the *Bund*. Property and estates taxes, income tax and corporation tax go to the *Länder*. But the *Bund* can claim a share of the two latter taxes for specific purposes, for example a subsidy to a financially weak *Land*. An act directing such participation must be agreed to by the *Bundesrat* (the Upper House). A federal act subject to the consent of the *Bundesrat* will settle the details of the division of revenues between *Bund* and *Länder* before December 31, 1952.

The statute provides for an Upper House, the *Bundesrat*. It consists of delegates from the *Länder* governments. Each *Land* has three representatives; one with over two million inhabitants has four and one with over six millions has five. The strength of the present

Bundesrat (11 *Länder*) is 43 ; Berlin has four non-voting members. The *Bundesrat* is a kind of Senate. All Bills have to be submitted to it before they can become law. In specific cases, for example, certain finance acts, the *Bundesrat* has a veto ; they cannot be passed without its consent. In less important matters it can be overruled by the *Bundestag* (the Lower House) after a committee composed of both houses has failed to draft a compromise Bill acceptable to the lower house. Rejection, by the *Bundesrat* with a two-thirds majority must be overridden by a two-thirds vote in the *Bundestag*. The socialists would have preferred a weaker upper house, the Christian democrats a stronger one.

The seat of power lies in the *Bundestag*. Its members are elected by secret ballot for four years ; all Germans over 21 years old have a vote, all over 25 years can be elected. Three-fifths of the 400 members will be elected in one member constituencies by simple majority and 40 per cent. will be allotted to the parties according to their voting strength. This combination of single member constituency and proportionalism avoids some of the shortcomings of the Weimar Republic's proportional system.

A *Bundes* president with a five years term (he can stand a second time) is chosen by the *Bundes Versammlung* (Federal Assembly), composed of the 400 members of the *Bundestag* and an equal number of delegates from the *Länder* parliaments. He represents the *Bund* in its foreign relations. His powers are limited. He cannot act without a responsible ministerial adviser ; he can propose but not impose him. He presents a chancellor to the *Bundestag*, who may not secure a majority. In that case, the *Bundestag* chooses its own chancellor whom the president must accept ; he must appoint the cabinet ministers proposed to him by the chancellor.

The *Bundestag* can oust the chancellor, but must couple its "no confidence" vote with the name of a successor, and petition the president to dismiss the former and appoint the latter. The president has to comply with this petition. A chancellor who can no longer command a majority in the *Bundestag* can secure its dissolution from the president, but the *Bundestag* can avoid it by nominating another chancellor by a majority vote. Experience alone can show whether this expedient can oust the irresponsibility of political parties who gaily overthrow a cabinet, and do not know how to replace it.

A supreme constitutional court and a supreme federal court will test the legality of enactments and decisions. The "basic statute" defines the fundamental rights of every German citizen and the basic aims of a democratic German State. It can be adopted by other German *Länder* (the immediate inclusion of Berlin was vetoed by the Military Government). It is hardly likely, that the Russians will let

the five *Länder* under their control accept its principles.

The basic statute has laid the foundations of a German democracy. It is perhaps a little less democratic than the Weimar constitution before it was perverted ; it is probably more realistic, and from the social philosopher's point of view, less interesting. It is, and must be traditional.

V

Western Germany will not yet enjoy full self-determination. At their meeting in Washington (April 6-8, 1949) the western Allies decided to replace Military Government by a high commission composed of one member from each country. Its decision on matters arising out of the Occupation statute must be unanimous ; on other matters a majority vote is sufficient ; in certain cases a minority commissioner can appeal to his home government. In matters of foreign trade and finance, the United States, who bear the main burden, have a weighted vote. Direct zonal administration will cease. The high commissioner will be represented in each *Land* of his zone by a *Land* commissioner and in each one outside his zone, by an observer. The high commission has reserved powers in respect of disarmament and demilitarization, control of the Ruhr, reparations and cartelization, foreign affairs, control over foreign trade and exchange, the security of the army of Occupation and power to get satisfaction of Occupation costs ; respect for the basic law and the *Länder* constitutions. It exercises control over internal affairs, "only to the minimum extent necessary to ensure the use of funds, food and other supplies in such a manner as to reduce to a minimum the need for external assistance to Germany." The Occupation authorities moreover reserve the right, acting under the instructions of their governments, "to resume in whole or in part the exercise of full authority if they consider that to do so is essential to their security, or to preserve democratic government in Germany, or in pursuance of the international obligations of their governments." The German governments are permitted to legislate on reserved matters after due notification to the Allied authorities—provided that such legislation does not conflict with the latter's actions or directions. The statute will be revised after 12 months.

Control is complemented by the Ruhr Authority. The economy of the Ruhr—(comprising the larger part of the *Land* Nord-Rhein Westfalen) is put under an international body, appointed by the three western powers, Germany and the Benelux countries ; the four major countries have three votes each, the Benelux countries one vote each. Decisions are to be taken by simple majority. The Authority has to supervise the proper distribution of coal and steel and to secure the

unimpeded flow of those products to international markets. During the control period, the Occupation authorities can enforce the limitations of German industries—by now somewhat relaxed—necessary for security purposes. At the end of the control period, the powers of supervision will be entrusted either to the Authority or to a “military security board” or to a newly created international body.

The government of Germany envisaged at present by the western powers is bifurcated. It offers ample opportunities for logical criticism, such as Mr. Vyshinsky is indulging in. But it is a great step forward from the original political absurdities, most of which were embodied in the Potsdam agreement. It is an example of split sovereignty.

VI

Will the embryonic German democracy which is being brought to life barely four years after the Germans were supposed to be congenitally unfit for democracy, fare better than the Weimar Republic?

The Weimar Republic broke down when a combination of communists and nationalists had made the formation of a democratic majority government impossible. Can the new republic avoid that danger? In the western zone, there is at present little communist sympathy; even if Berlin and the eastern zone were to join the west, to-day's risks would not be too great. Russian Communism is not very attractive to those Germans who have seen it at work. While these impressions last, and while the German people look forward to improving conditions, the republic is safe. Were a heavy world depression to set in and were attempts made to ease it elsewhere by strangling German production and German foreign trade through control rights, the reaction might be serious. Even if Russia permitted her zone to accept the Bonn Statute, including its charter of rights, she would not encourage it to respect it. The Allies on the Ruhr Authority may have to show a good deal of self-denial.

The danger of a resurrection of nationalism is even greater. All the world over, nationalism has become more brutal. Over eight million Germans who have been driven from their homes and who have been despoiled of nearly all possessions, have personally experienced it. They provide material for an irreconcilable *irredenta*. Their reception in many parts of Germany has not been generous. They may either form a separate refugee party, or swell the ranks of the nationalists. Like all *émigrés*, they dream of and act for a speedy return to their lost homes.

The mere presence of armies of occupation, however well behaved they may be, is bound to keep nationalism alive. The contrast between genuine self-government and a state of affairs where Ruhr

Authority and High Commission can and must interfere with essential issues, will provide agitators with never failing arguments. It will not turn the Germans into communists, but it will help the nationalists. A trustworthy republican majority may not always be available. It will take more wisdom than many Germans possess not to react from time to time against alien domination. This domination cannot be completely withdrawn before the Germans have received full equality with other nations, and they cannot receive it before they have become fully trusted partners of a western union. Geography has placed them in a position where they can make or mar that union.

Were the decision to be left exclusively to the wisdom of the German masses, chances might not be too good. Fortunately, however, Russia will come to the rescue, for her ultimate unchangeable aims cannot be hidden. She cannot repeat Rapallo. At Rapallo a weak Russia, standing outside the comity of nations, courted an equally weak, not yet fully admitted Germany to keep her company, so that both could get in. The only bribe Russia can offer to Germany to-day is unity under communist domination. Outside incorrigible builders of sugar castles in the air, and professional 'stooges', most Germans see this clearly. It will make them wary and enable them to hold their nationalists in check. As long as Russia does not offer a return of the lost lands, there is a good chance for a moderate German democracy, however illogical, not to say incongruous, its structure may be. It will not only need much more skill than the Weimar Republic possessed, but far better luck.

(Dr. Bonn was adviser on reparations and currency to German Governments and the Reichsbank after the 1914-1918 war before becoming a British subject.)

THE DUTCH AND INDONESIA

BY J. T. BROCKWAY

WHEN, on December 18, 1948, the Dutch Government announced the resumption of military operations on Java and Sumatra, its action was regarded in Holland as a sombre and unpleasant necessity, and though many felt relief at the prospect that an end might at last be put to the chaotic situation which had endured there since the Japanese surrender, no one put out any flags. Since Holland is a democratic country, many widely divergent views exist as to the proper line to be taken in Indonesia. Nevertheless, every party, with the natural exception of the Communist, supported the Government's move, though the Labour Party—strongly represented in the Government, Minister President Drees being, himself, a Labour man—while agreeing that there was no longer any alternative left, expressed the fear that the action would cause a bad impression abroad.

Not only did it create a bad impression but it was entirely misrepresented and misinterpreted. So fierce, so unfair, and so ignorant was the criticism levelled at Holland that Dutchmen at first began to ask what their Government's information service had been doing that opinion abroad should be so ill-informed. Later, however, when Dr. van Royen and others had stated the Dutch case unequivocally and the world still condemned Holland, they began to form the opinion that other countries either did not want to know the facts, or, for reasons best known to themselves, were determined to persist in misinterpreting them. So it was that the Dutch dispute with the Republic came to be interpreted erroneously as a quarrel between the Dutch and the whole of Indonesia, with Holland as an imperialist power which was refusing independence to its former colonies.

Such a picture is absolutely and entirely untrue, as any objective study of the facts must immediately show. On the outbreak of war in Asia, the Dutch East Indies were still a colony—the best-run in the world. Progressive ideas, checked by the world depression which in Holland, as elsewhere, temporarily strengthened the hand of conservatism, were already in the ascendant when Japan struck. Queen Wilhelmina's radio speech of December 6, 1942, envisaged the replacement of the colonial structure by a union of independent, self-governing States consisting of Holland, Indonesia, Suriname and

Curacao, much on the lines of the British Commonwealth. The Dutch have held fast to that plan ever since and have altered their constitution to give it effect. As far as Indonesia is concerned, they have already reached agreement with the Federal governments representing two-thirds of the Indonesian population, but their agreements with the Republic had been rendered abortive by that body's refusal, or inability, to put into practice what it had agreed to on paper. Thus, it had agreed to recognize Dutch sovereignty in the interim period but later intimated that this could be nominal only with no effect in practice; while, though it had agreed to call a stop to acts of violence against Federal territory, these were, in fact, intensified according to a worked-out plan, the number of incidents on the *status quo* line and within Federal areas rising from 76 a week in the middle of February, 1948, to over 300 in the first week of December.

Even so, the Dutch action of December last was not directed against the Republic, as such, but against those elements within it who made agreement impossible. The Dutch Government's declaration issued on the commencement of operations specifically stated this, while in the Security Council, Dr. van Royen declared that :

In order to understand the matter properly, it is essential to realize that the dispute with the Republic is not concerned with the question whether Holland is ready to make Indonesia sovereign and independent. The answer to that question is definitely in the affirmative. The question is whether the independent United States of Indonesia shall begin in circumstances which guarantee its composite parts and its citizens freedom from domination by a minority, in circumstances which will guarantee the maintenance of the ties of friendship and trade with the democracies, or whether it shall begin under the leadership of a small minority, which has shown clear disregard for the democratic rights and privileges of the inhabitants and for the autonomous rights of other regional and racial groups, and which has been strongly influenced by extremist parties. In other words, it is a choice between . . . the democratic equality of various groups and the dictatorship of a ruling minority.

Despite these declarations misconceptions persisted even on the most elementary points. Foremost among these is the confusion of the archipelago of islands, once known as the Dutch East Indies and now as Indonesia, with the Republic which calls itself by the same name. This confusion has not been limited to the unschooled; it has consistently muddled and prejudiced discussion in the Security Council, and it is, of course, a confusion which the Republic is anxious to perpetuate, since it would like nothing better than to be mistaken for the true representative of the united will of all the heterogeneous peoples of the Indonesian archipelago. A study of the character and history of that archipelago reveals, however, that one party alone could not adequately and democratically represent so immense an area and so mixed a population.

Indonesia consists of five major islands and hundreds of smaller

ones, stretching round the Equator a distance equal to that between London and the Persian Gulf. Its population of over 70 millions contains types differing from each other more than the Javanese, for instance, differs from the European and is spread very unevenly over the whole area. The main concentration is on Java, with 48 millions. But here there are three distinct races, the Javanese, the Sundanese and the Madurese. On Sumatra (eight millions) there are no less than six. On Celebes, three, with various heathen tribes in the centre—on this island alone 35 different languages are found ; while on Borneo and New Guinea only very limited areas have been developed, a great part of the latter, inhabited by Papuans (including cannibals), being still unexplored. Cultural influences have been Hindu, Muslim, Arab, Portuguese and Dutch. The policy of the Dutch has been to leave native social structures intact and to build up a Western superstructure including one million Indonesians, 500,000 Chinese and 250,000 Dutch, of whom more than half are Indo-Europeans, born in Indonesia, their home country. Thus it will be seen that Indonesia is not a nation as we understand it, but an exceedingly complex grouping of races, cultures and creeds, some still mutually hostile, whose political, administrative and economic unity is entirely the work of the Dutch. Indonesia was, in fact, made in Holland.

The Republic "Indonesia", on the other hand, is the creation of a political body representing extreme nationalism, sponsored and trained by the Japanese and exploited by them during the war to excite anti-European feeling and to mobilize Indonesians for the Japanese war effort against the Allies. Certainly it owes something to a genuine national awareness which the Dutch must, and do, recognize. But its present strength is not so much due to that new awareness (which from the nature of Indonesian society must be confined to a very tiny proportion of the population—the great majority are small farmers who desire nothing so much as peace) as to Japanese propaganda, the events immediately before and after the end of the war, and intervention by the United Nations. That intervention, disregarding history, fact—and the United Nations' Charter—put Holland in the witness box and thereby gave immense support to the Republic and a new sanction to the activities of terrorist bands. Its story is well-known. Less familiar are the events of 1945-1946, and to understand how great a rôle these played in the growth of the Republic's power, it is necessary briefly to review them.

Although during the war the whole of Holland and practically the whole of the Dutch East Indies were occupied by enemy forces, what Dutch forces escaped fought to the end on the Allied side. The course taken by the Allied campaigns was, however, most unlucky

for the Dutch.* Allied strategy was to strike at the heart of the enemy. Thus, just as the most important part of Holland was left in German hands while Allied armies struck at Berlin, Indonesia was by-passed in the drive through the Philippines to Tokyo. After the liberation of Southern Holland, the Dutch pleaded in vain for adequate help in building up new Dutch forces for the war in Asia, the Allied view being that these would be too insignificant to justify the trouble of training. Dutch interests, that is, were subjugated to Allied strategy. The result was that, with the Americans clearing up the Philippines, the British Burma, the Australians the Solomons, New Britain and New Guinea, when the Japanese suddenly surrendered, Indonesia was still all but completely in their hands. Further, while the Dutch had been kept out of the picture by the Allies, the Japanese had been working up anti-Dutch feeling to fever pitch, training an army of Indonesian fanatics and installing an anti-Dutch government, Soekarno and Hatta being called to Japanese military H.Q. just before the Japanese surrender, only nine days before they proclaimed the Republic.

At their own request, the British were to occupy Indonesia, but when the time came they were unprepared and the Dutch, for reasons given, had no adequate force trained. They were further hampered by restrictions imposed by the British Command and by the Australian dockers' boycott. The British did not land until six weeks after the Japanese surrender, having first attended to Malaya, S. Indo-China and British Borneo. In the meantime the Republic had seized its chance, taking over from the Japanese who failed to fulfil the terms of surrender whereby they were to govern until relieved by the Allies. When the British did land, with minute forces, they openly declared that they intended to occupy a few places only, and, to make matters worse for the Dutch, their very first proclamation contained a virtual *de facto* recognition of the Republic. At the same time, Dutch internees were ordered back to the concentration camps where they continued to suffer long after the capitulation. A Dutch Commission reported that eight months after the surrender, there were still 200,000 Japanese in Indonesia, 90,000 still under arms, and further that :

... fully eight months after the Japanese surrender, the task assigned to the English occupation had still not been carried out, a fact which gives rise to great dissatisfaction in Dutch circles in India, especially since, as a result of this, the transfer of Japanese arms to extremists, the training of the Republic's army by Japanese instructors, and the building up of a 'Republic' on the basis of the Japanese anti-democratic organization formed during the war are all enabled to carry on apace.

Had the British been prepared for their task, or had the Allies

*For some of the information regarding this period I am indebted to the book, *Indonesië, Nederland en de Wereld*, by Dr. H. J. van Mook, Lt.-Governor General of Indonesia at the time.

afforded the Dutch the facilities to train a force to take over from the Japanese, the Republic might never have been able to seize power and pose as the representative of the Indonesian peoples, Japanese arms might never have fallen into its hands, and the way to Indonesian independence might have been a peaceful one.

Holland suffered so badly in the war because she was militarily weak. Her pre-war strength lay not in force of arms, but in peaceful trade, and it is ironical that UNO should have intervened against a militarily weak power while permitting stronger military powers to employ violence in South-East Asia without calling them to account. The Dutch hold that the Indonesian problem is an internal Dutch affair, outside the competency of the Security Council, since it does not concern two sovereign States. If it is held that political considerations in South-East Asia make UNO intervention imperative, why, Dutchmen ask, does UNO not intervene in Malaya and Indo-China ? The view that the Dutch action played into the hands of the communists they regard as very naïve, betraying inadequate knowledge of the forces at work inside the Republic. When Dr. Jessup declares that America disapproves of all violence, Dutchmen ask what, then, is America's attitude to the Republic's sustained campaign of violence in Indonesia, to end which the Dutch action was taken ? If America is genuinely concerned for the welfare of the Indonesian peoples, why, they ask, does it tolerate the contract of the American Fox Corporation, described even in the American press as "scandalous", and which, if put into practice, would entail an exploitation of Indonesian labour unthinkable under Dutch rule ? If we must leave Indonesia, say the Dutch, what are the Portuguese going to do about Timor, the Australians about New Guinea, the British about Sarawak and North Borneo, all integral parts of the archipelago ? Dutchmen feel that Anglo-Saxons, whose attitude to coloured peoples is less sympathetic than their own, have no real idea of the strength of Dutch ties with Indonesia. Before the war Dutchmen felt at home there ; for them, Indonesia was not so much a colony as a part of Holland. As for the modern disparagement of colonization, they point out that colonization is an advance on mere commercial exploitation which assumes no administrative responsibility, and further that, whereas under Dutch rule the size and welfare of the Indonesian population have enormously increased, the "colonization" of America and Australia led to the virtual extinction of the original inhabitants. Thus Dutchmen find it a very curious political justice that they should be regarded as wrongdoers and that Americans and Australians should be among the loudest of their critics.

(The author, an Englishman, has lived in Holland for the past three years.)

REPORT ON FRANCE

BY A. F. WILLS

MOST Frenchmen seem to agree that the pervading spirit in France just now is one of apathy. Where they do not agree is upon the underlying causes of this state of mind and the probabilities of its continuance. For some, the "Third Force" is nothing but a weak "centre", or political solar-plexus, composed of parties each inspired only by motives of self-preservation, devoid of any common purpose, and hence vowed to a dishonourable sterility. For others, this same "Third Force"—which should represent the middle way, the common factor of *bon sens* throughout the country—has failed to live up even to the modest hopes entertained on its behalf; though, theoretically, its political formation was justified, and, practically, it disposes of sufficient potential weight to make good sense prevail over the twin forms of extremism.

For the communists and gaullists, therefore, the mere existence of the present Government is a scandal; while for the more moderate elements the scandal lies in its behaviour. Thus, the first and second watch its feverish attempts to extricate itself from an ever-deepening economic and financial morass with hearty contempt and impatience; the last, with growing apprehension for the cause of stability. It is generally accepted that a "deluge" of some kind is on the way; the question remains what is to be made of it when it comes. Prominent politicians (Paul Reynaud among them) have even gone so far as to draw comparisons with the years immediately preceding 1789, with the ill-fated financial wizardries of a Turgot and a Necker, to stress the seriousness of the situation. It is certain that emergency patch-work can have no better chance of success now than it had then. Perhaps, too, the root problem—as in 1789—outstrips the political order and attains the moral order. Let us first glance at the material conditions of life.

During the past six months agricultural prices have been falling; not because of any special action by the Government, but thanks to a normal return to a relative abundance of most agricultural products in a primarily agricultural country *plus* exceptional crops. This drop has affected producers to the extent of 25 to 50 per cent., depending on the product; though the 100 per cent. drop in the prices of eggs and vegetables may be regarded as in great part seasonal. But the

peasant is alarmed, because he finds that industrial products show no signs of following the same trend as agricultural products. While prices of clothing remain high, those of machinery and artificial manures tend to go up. This makes him feel that he is being called upon to bear an unfairly high proportion of the economic burden—a burden admittedly necessary if further inflation is to be avoided. His answer has been to limit his purchases to the barest minimum.

This answer has already had its repercussions on industry. Shops have reduced their orders to industrial firms, which in turn have begun to lay-off labour or work only half-time. Boot and shoe factories have been particularly severely hit. Meanwhile, the industrial worker may be said to have obtained relatively little benefit from the drop in agricultural prices, as this drop is not reflected—save in respect of certain articles, notably vegetables, fruit, eggs and pork—in the shop windows. But the gravity of the situation lies in the unemployment which this discrepancy in the prices of agricultural and industrial products is creating. Exact figures* are hard to obtain, for the Government has every reason to keep such unpalatable facts as dark as possible. Nor, save in the Paris region, is unemployment benefit paid; no funds for this purpose officially existing in provincial centres, which are having recourse to local public utility projects as a means of providing work. However, this fact alone indicates how widespread total unemployment is becoming.

The only large section of the community whose economic position has improved under the Government is that of the *fonctionnaire* class, whose increases in salary happened to coincide with an all-round stabilization in the price of consumer goods, and the size of whose incomes enables them to benefit considerably from the cheaper milk, butter, eggs and other food-stuffs now available. Nor can the present Government be said to be unfavourable to the middlemen. It is generally agreed that there are far too many of this class; that they have become accustomed during and since the Occupation to an excessive retail profit, and are largely responsible for keeping up prices. In fairness it must be added, however, that their turnover is much less and their outgoings are far heavier than they were in 1939.

It is not always realized abroad what burdens French industry and commerce have to bear both in direct taxation and the upkeep of the social services. Apart from heavy taxes on production and profits, an industrialist has to pay on every employee's wages a sum representing 40 per cent. (26 per cent. for a commercial employer, where insurance against accident is not included) to the *Sécurité Sociale*. The largest payment from the funds of this autonomous institution

*Variously estimated at between 50-200,000.

goes in the form of family allowances, working out at about 3,000 frs. per month for each child. Employers do not dispute the principle of the thing—in fact, I have not met one who did not think the present purchasing-power of the bulk of the working-class insufficient, even with family allowances thrown in as a make-weight. But most of them feel that the development of the social services has been too rapid; that family allowances, for instance, ought to have been progressively increased with the increase in housing available, instead of which, the birth-rate is going up rapidly, but totally insufficient accommodation exists for families. This lack of balance in the scheme is attributed to the fact that at the Liberation each political party wanted to go one better than its neighbour in matters of “social justice” to secure votes. Furthermore, it is generally considered that *Sécurité Sociale*—whose cost this year will run to 400 milliard frs.—is wastefully administering the hard-earned contributions placed at its disposal.

The administration of *Sécurité Sociale* and that of the nationalized industries, most of which show a deficit, have recently called forth serious attacks on the Government by the liberal and independent elements among its supporters, led by Paul Reynaud. Of these nationalized industries, the S.N.C.F. (railways), the S.N.E.C.M.A. (aero-engines) and the G.D.F. (gas) all show deficits running into many milliards of francs. The E.D.F. (electricity) is also on the borderline of deficit; but against this must be set the immense equipment undertaken by this company. The same may be said of course of the S.N.C.F., whose equipment was left in a lamentable state by the war. This company is none the less guilty of serious administrative abuses, and its finances are not helped by the fact that the retiring age for its personnel (55) is the lowest in Europe, and there are at present 325,000 on the pensioned list as against 465,000 on the active list. The coalmines remain one of the brighter spots on the economic map, with production above pre-war, in spite of a good deal of outmoded machinery—a legacy of liberal capitalism. There is also the Régie Renault, which declared a 700 million frs. profit this year; though this is not strictly a nationalized industry, many of its higher appointments being still filled by pre-nationalization personnel.

In its desperate search for new sources of revenue to stop up the more glaring financial gaps, the Government has, since the beginning of the year, raised postal, telegraphic and telephone charges so drastically that the public has retorted by making the minimum use of these services; receipts have seriously diminished, and staff have had to be sacked. Petrol—of which enormous stocks exist—has, after the most scandalous exposures of black market traffic by the *Figaro*—come off the ration, and is available to

prioritaires at the old price of 40frs. the litre and to the general public at 60frs. The Government reckon that this extra 20frs. a litre will yield a tax-harvest of 20 milliard frs. Such "tinkering", however, satisfies neither *dirigistes* not *anti-dirigistes*, and merely leaves the field open for the black market to continue operating in a minor key. On the top of all this, there is the army, costing one-third of the national budget, and yet unable to show anything for this disproportionate expenditure except well-trained, but diminutive, "token" forces throughout its various branches.

Such, in brief, is the economic picture of the moment. If the prevailing colours seem dark, this is not to say that immense progress in economic rehabilitation has not taken place—in spite of everything. Turning to the political aspect, obviously the Communist Party will do its utmost to exploit growing unemployment and consequent distress in industrial centres. The communists' persistent wooing of the peasant since their discomfiture at the time of the general strike in 1947 has not met with any tangible success. But the communist-led C.G.T., with its two million odd members, is still the most powerful single labour organization. Nor, when it is purely a question of an improvement in material conditions, is it left to act alone. On two separate occasions lately it has received the unqualified support of the C.F.T.C. (Christian Workers), the second largest union, with over a million adherents. Nevertheless, working-class faith in the ability of the unions to represent their interests was so severely shaken by the split which occurred in the C.G.T. at the height of the 1947 strike, that ever since all of them have carried many indifferent passengers.

The R.P.F., General de Gaulle's party, which can claim perhaps the allegiance of one-fifth of the electorate has made no headway since the end of last year.* Its chances, therefore, of ever attaining power seem to be diminishing; nor are the published statements of the General calculated to allay the widespread suspicion of his harbouring dictatorial ambitions. But in so far as the movement may be said to represent a patriotic concern for putting the national household in order and maintaining French international prestige, its appeal might spread, as it were, overnight, if, in the event of the present centre coalition's disintegration, this were accompanied by serious outbreaks of disorder. For though the Frenchman can be extremely destructive theoretically, he is not slow to fetch the policeman when his own personal comfort is endangered.

In radical-socialist circles it is generally assumed that the General has 'missed the bus'—an attitude which expresses more of complacency than of attention to facts. The facts are that for the great

*As a party, its scope is weakened by the fact that it welcomes men of any political persuasion, other than the communist; though, in different circumstances, this might prove a source of strength.

body of working-class opinion, the present Government represents the interests of liberal capitalism, under the approving eye of American big business ; while its socialist supporters are the objects of particularly bitter reproach for " playing the devil's game " out of mere party opposition to Communism. This growing feeling that the Government is indifferent to working-class interests cannot fail to affect its chances of remaining in power until 1952, and might well contribute towards opening the back-door to one or other of its extremist foes long before that date.

In the immediate future, a fall of the Government could only come about through excess of zeal on the part of the radical-liberals and independents led by Paul Reynaud, with P.-E. Flandin busy in the background. Their latest ultimatum to the Government on the twin thorny problems of reorganization of *Sécurité Sociale* and the State industries was not intended to bring about its fall, but to enforce a ministerial re-shuffle to benefit themselves. M.R.P., on the other hand, have openly declared their intention of not following the Government in any move to the right, and the socialists—only too thankful for such an opportunity to demonstrate their leftism to their leftist critics—have joined them in opposing the radical administrative changes asked for, out of concern (so they say) for maintaining intact the great social reforms of the Liberation. The communists naturally support the latter attitude ; the gaullists the former.

This first large-scale political show-down in eight months is, as likely as not, to end in a *componendum* between left-centre and right-centre, neither being in a position to press its case to a dissolution. It offers a typical example of the *régime des partis*, which has now, for so long, plagued French parliamentary life, and which, under the post-war system of proportional representation, has merely received additional encouragement.

This survey would be incomplete, however, if reference were only made to the economic and political sides of the situation in France. The prevailing apathy—whence does it arise ? what does it represent ?

Since the Liberation, the country has been called upon to vote on complicated national issues no less than thirteen times, with the result that it has been living in a continual state of political excitement with public opinion torn between an endless series of incompatible political ideals. Party passions have reached a climax on two separate occasions ; during the major strikes of November 1947 and October 1948. This last explosion of political passion, which was handled with great tact and firmness by the socialist Minister of the Interior, Jules Moch, has been followed, not unnaturally, by a period of quiescence which, on the surface, suggests an increased civic consciousness, and may be compared to the state of mind existing in an individual after a display of " temper " which, sharply

dealt with, is succeeded by a temporary, exterior passivity.

There is no doubt that the French, as a whole, are heartily tired of the sterile quarrels of political factions ; but still not sufficiently so. Unfortunately, the politicians which a democracy sends to Parliament represent that democracy, whether or no. Too many people who vote for the substance of social reform, would, in their hearts, be well enough satisfied with its shadow. But politicians have the unpleasant trait of believing in their own slogans and pursuing their supposed " mandate " to quite unreasonable lengths, necessitating a radical change in the habits and outlook of their electors. These, on the contrary, have no intention whatever of changing their habits or outlook—if they can help it.

It is a *malentendu* of this nature which seems to lie at the bottom of a lot of French apathy and disillusionment. A moral uncertainty prevails as to the goal. The communists offer a materialist goal under Russian aegis that at least is clear now, though it didn't seem quite so clear two years ago. The gaullists offer a nationalist goal—a modernized version of the kind pursued under Napoleon III. While, on the home-front at any rate, the remaining parties all represent their several sectional interests. There is no popular mystique transcending stalinist materialism and gaullist nationalism, which could lend a new magic to the words " French " and " French-man ". But one must arise if the moral cancer is not to be allowed to follow its natural development.

(Our correspondent writes from France where for the past year he has been living in various parts of the country.)

CHINA UNDER COMMUNISM

BY O. M. GREEN

BETS were being made in the Shanghai Club last autumn that the communists would be in Nanking within 18 months. The estimate was about twice too long. Since Christmas the communist armies have taken Peking and Tientsin ; have marched 800 miles south to possess themselves of all the rich Yangtze Valley from the sea to Hankow ; and are reaching out another 800 miles southwards towards Canton with every prospect of getting it in a few weeks. The Red generals and troops may deservedly be proud. But the plain fact is that the nationalist troops did not want to fight and China wanted no more of the Kuomintang Government. The latter may establish itself for a while in Formosa—for the perplexity of Western governments in respect of what authority to recognize. But in China it has simply evaporated. In the classic phrase, the K.M.T. might be said to have “exhausted the Mandate of Heaven,” if they had ever held it. In fact, they represented an alien form of government which they grossly manipulated to their own enrichment. Now China is to have a new government ; also of alien inspiration. Will it prove less or more Chinese, less or more heedful of the ancient predilections and culture of China, than its predecessors ?

By common consent, Shanghai will afford the first real test of the communists' ability to rule and of their repeated promises to respect private enterprise. The sixth greatest port in the world, with lines of commerce reaching out all over the globe and a population of 6,000,000, in which the business men of at least twenty foreign countries hold an overwhelming stake, Shanghai has over 10,000 factories employing 400,000 workpeople, and complexities of administration equal to those of some of the greatest, Western cities. In wealth and importance all the other cities of China put together do not equal Shanghai. This great city is now to be ruled by men whose experience is hardly more than that of a rustic committee.

The first few days of communist control in Shanghai have certainly encouraged hope that they realize the magnitude of their responsibility and opportunity. Great care was taken to avoid unnecessary damage in nipping the city off by a wide encircling movement instead of direct assault, and in refraining from use of artillery where it would endanger civilian life or property. Except in Hungjao, the

western residential suburb, where the nationalists did much damage in their face-saving pretence of defending Shanghai, no damage worth mention was done. There was no billeting of troops on either Chinese or foreigners; no looting; and as in Peking or Tientsin, the communist troops preserved the excellent discipline and good behaviour which has evoked as much astonishment as praise. A conquering Chinese army which does not sack the city it collars, is certainly a novelty.

Without delay a Military Control Commission, under General Chen Yi, Commander of the 3rd People's Army, took control. Part of it is a foreign affairs department to which, although no contact has at the time of writing been made with the Consuls, foreign business men are invited to bring their difficulties. This step was particularly welcomed by British business men as no such organization had been formed in Tientsin or Peking. Within nine days the port was declared open to all foreign ships except men-of-war, and one Dutch ship, the *Tjibadak* of the Java-China-Japan line, had entered and cleared for Hongkong with Chinese passengers, some cargo and mails. (There were no foreign passengers, apparently because new visa regulations had to be drafted; but it was not thought that this difficulty would last long. Foreign merchants have been able to leave Tientsin for the south with no trouble about permits for re-entry). Telegraphic and wireless communications abroad have been reopened and a rate of exchange fixed at one *Jenminpiao* (roughly "People's dollar") for 100,000 gold *yuan* (dollar), the last attempt by the Nationalist Government to stabilize currency.

The eight-point proclamation issued by Mao Tse-tung, for the reassurance of all classes, including foreigners, has made a wide impression, both in China and abroad. It is perhaps significant that its third broadcast was signed by Chu Teh, the Commander-in-Chief, as well as Mao Tse-tung. For Chu Teh's life, as a soldier in the first nationalist revolutionary armies, then as an opium-smoking mandarin, then as a convert to Communism freed by iron self-discipline from opium, must have broadened his mind. He is by all accounts a lovable man of very human disposition, and the addition of his name to the programme may well have been designed to enforce the sincerity of its pledges.

The proclamation begins by promising that "the lives and property of all persons will be protected . . . regardless of their class, faith or profession. "All privately operated factories, stores, banks, warehouses, vessels, wharves, farms, pastures . . . public and private schools, hospitals, churches, educational institutions and all other public welfare enterprises will be protected." Kuomintang-owned enterprises will be confiscated, but private capital invested in them will be recognized "if established by investigation." "Apart from

incorrigible war criminals and counter-revolutionary elements who have committed heinous crimes," all civil servants of the old régime are assured of safety and are urged to stay at work, and protect the official records and property from damage. Lastly, protection is promised for "the security of the lives and property of foreign nationals. It is hoped that they will all do their work as usual and preserve order." All that is required of them is to obey the laws and abstain from "harbouring war criminals" and other counter-revolutionary activities.

Still more remarkable than the eight-point proclamation is an article published in all the communist papers in the latter half of May by Li Li-san, head of the Communist Government in Manchuria. For Li, the second most powerful personality among the communist politicians, sometimes spoken of as a rival to Mao Tse-tung, was trained in Moscow, to which he has recently paid a visit, and is a Marxist through and through. Hence the surprise excited by his article which, addressed to the workers, deals with the necessity for China's sake of accepting and even encouraging private capitalists.

The workers will, of course, be protected from oppression, says Li Li-san. But "exploitation by the capitalists cannot be eliminated at the present stage . . . the development of production in private enterprise not only benefits the capitalists who exploit the workers, but also benefits the workers and the Chinese people in general." The great aim must be "to expand production for capital investments" to which the major part of the fruits of private enterprise must go. But

the Party holds that an appropriate portion of these profits should be retained by the capitalists as only in this way can they be encouraged to expand production. On this point the interests of capitalists and workers coincide . . . China is too backward economically, it will require a long time before a communist society can be realized."

Hence, says Li Li-san, there must be "a comparatively long period of new democratic construction," with all classes co-operating in their accustomed functions, and "capitalists encouraged to participate in this work," in order to realize the goal of Socialism.

Such a doctrine from one of Li Li-san's stamp tempts one to exclaim: "Saul among the prophets." Clearly, however, in his definition of the "period of new democratic construction" Li presents the immediate programme decided on by the communist leaders. Just a year ago, in broadcasting to the workers Mao Tse-tung impressed it on them that they would have to accept "a certain amount of exploitation" by the capitalists. And at the first North China Labour Congress held in Peking last month, the chairman, Liu Shao-chi, is reported to have said that, while factories must be run on democratic lines and managers and workers must confer on all problems, the final word must rest with the managers.

“Higher production and lower costs” was his main theme. Already one hears from Tientsin that the Chinese workers were much disappointed to find that Communism did not mean less work and higher wages as they had expected, but precisely the reverse.

As against these fair promises, some reports of communist rule in Peking and Tientsin have not been too encouraging. In two long articles in *The Times* of May 20 and 21 a correspondent recently back from Peking, gave a depressing account of business of every kind at a standstill, shops all empty, factories and small industries closing through lack of raw material, excessive wage demands and heavy taxation; “doctrinaire theories which the Chinese Communist Party has been preaching for many years being enforced according to rota, no matter what the consequences.”

This description, however, is not altogether endorsed, even in business circles. Missionaries certainly take a more hopeful view. The great Anglo-American college, Yenching, just outside Peking, is reported to be carrying on normally. One London Missionary Society station, consisting of a church, school and hospital, 80 miles south of Tientsin, has been working for two years under the communists and the three foreigners in charge have suffered no inconvenience whatever. And a missionary acquaintance lately back from Tientsin tells me that the principal difficulty in life is to find someone with authority to give a final decision: the communists are evidently short of “top line” men. However, my informant quoted instances to show that the communists are anxious to learn.

But conditions vary greatly between the coast and the interior. Abbé de Jaegher, a Belgian Catholic Missionary, who came home early this year after six years in close contact with the communists, brings a terrible tale of terrorism and torture by the communists. This is substantiated by Protestant eye-witnesses writing in the May-June number of the London missionary magazine *World Dominion*. They tell of landlords being flogged through villages till they died; several missionaries have left their stations because they found that their continued presence meant real danger for their converts. It is possible, however, that these reports are spread over a considerable period and are not up-to-date. One may recall a broadcast delivered by Mao Tse-tung last summer, specially enjoining fair treatment of landlords. There is, however, evidence that the communist troops in the interior are not on the same level as the well-disciplined soldiers in Peking, Tientsin and Shanghai. The latter are the first-line troops. In the interior many sheer bandits have joined the Red flag for the lucrative openings it gave for loot.

From these and other reports it is plain that an organized Communist Government has still to emerge. One writer in *World Dominion*, evidently speaking with first-hand knowledge, says that there are now

six loosely connected communist governments. Last September the communists announced that, as the result of a thirteen-days session of the North China Provisional People's Representative Congress, held in North Shensi, a North China People's Government of 277 members had been elected "marking a mile-stone in China's New Democratic Revolution." In view of Mao Tse-tung's eight-point proclamation it is interesting to see that the 541 members in the Congress included "workers, peasants, revolutionary army men, merchants, industrialists, professional men, the new type of rich peasants, enlightened members of the former landed gentry, Moslem leaders and representatives of women's organizations." But of the actual functioning of this North China People's Government, as such, one has heard very little. A few well-known names appear in the communists' news sheets, but all seemingly acting in individual capacities, not as members of an organized administration.

It would indeed be surprising if anything of this kind had yet been formed while the communists are still marching and absorbing vast new territories. It is more than likely that they are at present bewildered by the speed and sweep of their victories and still do not know what they will do with them. In this state of things the greatest danger of all is that the whole movement may become dominated by the section of fanatical extremists. That the leaders are pronounced Marxists there is no doubt whatever. Around them is grouped the official Communist Party which claims to contain 3,000,000 members though good Chinese judges do not give it more than a tenth of that number. But here is the danger. Unless the eight-point proclamation and Li Li-san's article quoted above are monstrous falsehood, of which there is as yet no sign, Mao Tse-tung and his top colleagues are fully alive to the need of taking a realist view of China's requirements. It is the familiar power behind the throne that one dreads, the swarms of Party men ignorant of everything but the Marxist nostrums with which they have been stuffed. One saw that sort of thing in the best days of General Chiang Kai-shek's Government; excellent orders might be issued from the top, but their execution by the lower strata of officialdom was very different.

One thing is as certain as that two and two make four: if the communists stick to their reiterated determination to industrialize China in order to raise her standard of living, they must encourage dealings with the outside world. Apart from Shanghai, China's industry is almost non-existent. For many raw materials, oil which she increasingly uses, rubber, chemicals, and certain metals, she depends wholly on imports, as also for others which she could in part produce herself but is not doing so owing to the wreckage and disorganization of twelve years of war. Even in such factories as she has, large replacement of machinery is necessary, while her

railways need complete renovation and new rolling-stock. The glowing communist reports of industry booming in Manchuria are to be taken with large pinches of salt. The Russians stripped the Japanese factories and mines in Manchuria of every scrap of apparatus worth taking, particularly the electrical. If they had supplied the Chinese communists with the necessary plant to get the factories going properly, we should certainly have heard of it. And no one else has done so.

To the often asked question what help Russia is giving the communists, apart from facilitating their entry into Manchuria and there allowing them to collect the huge stores of arms and ammunition of the Kuantung Army, the answer seems to be none. Since Chiang Kai-shek expelled Borodin 21 years ago, no trace of Russian agents has been seen in China. More than once communists, when asked by travellers what help the Russians were giving them, have replied indignantly : " We owe nothing to Russia ; this is *our* movement." It is a curious fact that, when entering Tientsin, the communists boycotted the Russian Consul equally with his foreign colleagues. Those who know Russia appear to agree that she cannot spare either the technicians or machinery which the communists need. And as time goes on it will be very interesting to see the outcome of the control of the Chinese Eastern Railway, Dairen and Port Arthur awarded to Russia by the disastrous Yalta Agreement. For these possessions give her the stranglehold on Manchuria, which she has coveted for 50 years ; and it is extremely unlikely that she will more readily surrender them to the communists than she would to Nanking. Will this lead to a rift in the Red lute ?

Without expressing any opinion as to the rights and wrongs of the tragic affair of H.M.S. *Amethyst*, a more regrettable send-off for Great Britain's relations with the new régime could not be imagined. Violent attacks, too, on our alleged " anti-Chinese policy " in Hong-kong* have been heard from the North China radio, though it is perhaps worth mention that these were delivered, not apparently by the communists themselves, but by their fellow-travellers, the revolutionary factions of the K.M.T. who for the past two years have found a safe asylum in Hongkong. But necessity on both sides should dictate some way out of these *désagrément*s. The communists can scarcely continue indefinitely to ignore all the Governments of the world. And on all counts the latter have reason for entering into normal relations with them.

For beyond the present masters of China lie the 450 millions with whom her fate ultimately rests. Two factors in the whole outlook

*The question of Hongkong is too big for this article. Briefly, the danger may be, not that the communists will attack Hongkong, but that they might try to force its surrender by paralysing it by means of a general strike and boycott. But even the K.M.T. knew the value to China of Hongkong remaining in British hands. Possibly the communists will be realist enough to see that too.

must never be forgotten. One is China's enormous size, equal to all Europe excluding Russia ; the other, her age-long antagonism to centralized and totalitarian government. Under the Empire China was far more a federation than a single State. So long as the viceroys kept order and sent the required amount of money to the throne, each of them was independent in his own territory, with his own army and budget, making his own laws, and with absolute powers of life and death. It was the only system possible in a country where one province differs so widely from another in character, climate, custom and language.

In the second place the essence of Confucius's teaching (and probably from long before him) is that, as between State and individual it is the State which owes duty to the individual, not *vice versa*. Chin Shih Huang-ti, the so-called Napoleon of China, tried to reverse this teaching 2,100 years ago. But with the end of his brief reign, the experiment collapsed and China returned to her old faith, which even the worst of the emperors in principle accepted. The fundamental failure of the K.M.T. was that they tried to enforce a centralized totalitarian government on China. One doubts whether Communism will be more successful.

Somehow the notion of a Chinese Kremlin, with the elaborate machinery of terrorism on which it rests, will not fit into the picture of China. Things have a knack of just happening in China, not of being organized ; and if the communists prove adepts in organization, they will be the first of their race who are. No analogy can be drawn between the serf-like Russians subjected to tyranny from the beginning of time, and the shrewd individualist Chinese, with their high culture preserved and ingrained through 3,000 years, their invincible attachment to family, and, above all, their limitless faculty for passive resistance.

To-day the Chinese are exhausted by twelve years of invasion and strife. They accept anyone who seems to promise peace. But as normal life and trade revive in the promised era of " new democratic construction," so their ancient proclivities and beliefs must reassert themselves. There is reason to believe that the kindly nature and broad tolerance of China will mould the communists into something very different from the coldblooded despots of Moscow. Even the Japanese, during the long years of their invasion, were visibly affected by China's humanizing influence. And at heart the communists are as much Chinese as all their ancestors.

NIGERIA'S DEVELOPMENT PLAN

BY ARTHUR M. FOYLE

UNDER Nigeria's 1946 Ten Year Plan of Development and Welfare it is proposed to spend a sum of £53,000,000 and towards this a contribution of £23,000,000 has been made by the British Government from the Colonial and Development Welfare Vote itself. The remaining sum of approximately £30,000,000 will be found in about equal proportions from Nigerian revenue and from loans to be raised by the Nigerian Government.

The plan falls easily into three sections, and there is very little activity mentioned which had not some counterpart before the war. First, there are certain fundamental conditions necessary before the people of Nigeria will be able to enjoy the benefits which the plan is intended to bring. Pure water must be available for all and health services must be greatly extended. Education, particularly technical education, must be made freely available so that Africans may take a part in the development of their own country. Secondly, a healthier and better educated community will require better communications and improved living conditions. Hence there is provision for greatly extending the road system, for town and village replanning schemes and for a vast rebuilding programme. Thirdly, the country's natural resources must be built up in order that future prosperity, based on a balanced economy, may be assured.

The provision of adequate water supplies is regarded as of such importance that practically the full cost of the rural supplies is being met by development funds. The problem is acute, some villagers having to walk as much as twelve miles for their daily supply. Much of the supply is contaminated, while in the north actual shortage results in serious loss of livestock. About 20,000 new waterpoints are to be provided in the form of wells or bore holes, the target being one supply point for every 500 of the rural population. The urban scheme provides for all towns with a population of over 5,000 to have a piped and treated supply. Both schemes are being seriously prejudiced by lack of equipment, while many of the existing urban installations are inadequate to serve the increased demands of a rapidly growing population.

When the development plan started there was one hospital bed for 5,000 people. This is an interesting comparison with England where the general level of health is infinitely higher and where there

is one for every 350. With a scattered community there can be no hope of attaining this standard, so the target is one bed for 2,000. An important supplement is the setting up of rural health centres, mobile clinics and epidemic units. Effective treatment on the spot has a valuable propaganda effect, it being difficult to persuade the remote villager to visit a hospital on his own account. The same methods are being applied to leprosy control ; to isolate Nigeria's 400,000 lepers is obviously an impossible task, but hospitals and segregation villages are being built as the centres of outstation work and from which regular visits with treatment vans can cover a large area. In the past much of the pioneer medical work was done by the Missions, but Government medical services are so crippled by shortage of building materials and lack of trained staff that development money is being handed direct to them to expedite the building of hospitals. Only thus can supply catch up with present needs.

The demand for education is universal and insistent and, ideally, all existing educational facilities should be expanded without limit and at all levels. This is an impossibility, because without teachers, who are a result of secondary education, there can be no expansion of elementary education. As well as the need for teachers there is also an immediate and unsatisfied demand for Africans who will be able to fill responsible positions in the Government and without whom the progress of any development will be retarded. During the first two years of the plan the understaffed Public Works Department was unable to make much progress on the provision of school buildings, but recent months show an improvement. In the Northern Provinces, for example, a Women Teachers' Training Centre at Kano and a Secondary School at Zaria have been completed. Students are normally drawn from large areas of country so that dormitories, refectories and the buildings usually associated with communal life are required in addition to classrooms. This is a complicating and delaying factor and as in the case of the medical services, many educational projects are in the hands of the Missionary societies.

Mention must be made of one project which in the Northern Provinces is an important supplement to elementary education. Until comparatively recently there was little or no published matter in Hausa, the language spoken over wide areas of the country. The average pupil, having learnt to read at school, found himself unable to continue practising his new faculty and within a few years lapsed into his former illiteracy. In 1935 a Hausa literature bureau was established with the object of increasing the very sparse publication of text books and of providing something for the ordinary man to read. The work of the Gaskiya Corporation, as the bureau is now called, has assumed large proportions, and at Zaria a magnificent

building houses the offices and printing press. A steady flow of text books and three newspapers are produced. The circulation of the twice weekly *Gaskiya ta fi Kwabo* (Truth is worth more than a penny) has reached the figure of 22,000.

In the field of technical education there is considerable backwardness. It is no exaggeration to say that the whole future of the development plan depends on the supply of Africans with technical knowledge, of which there is at present a great shortage. This is particularly evident in the building programme where the standard of craftsmanship and finish is deplorably low, there being an abundant supply of unskilled labourers but a dearth of operatives of the foreman class. The problem is to train artisans who will have a pride in craftsmanship and who will be able to pass on their knowledge and so raise the general standard throughout the country. Trades centres have been established for each of the four administrative regions, where in addition to a general education, the five year course provides for instruction in the building and mechanical trades. Near Lagos a technical institute, capable of boarding 250 students is being established. The students are obtaining valuable experience by erecting their own buildings and competition for places is so keen that in some cases there have been over 200 applications for a single vacancy. There are however no Africans capable of acting as instructors in these schools.

The extension of roads and communications generally applies chiefly to the southern parts of the country. The hinterland is accessible with ease only from the extreme ends of the coastline at Lagos and Port Harcourt, the intervening stretches being a series of complicated creeks and lagoons comprising the Niger delta. Many of the villages in this area, which is rich in palm oil and cocoa, are unable to convey their crops to a suitable collection point. Therefore the mileage of feeder as against main roads is to be practically doubled. This improvement of communications is not without its disadvantages. As soon as a hitherto isolated village is made accessible to motor traffic the population tends to flow to the towns. At the ports of Lagos and Port Harcourt this shift has had evil consequences, the approaches to both towns being lined with a ribbon development of temporary shacks each sheltering several families in conditions of utmost squalor. The balance of town and country is being upset and these people, who until recently were country smallholders, now eke out an uncertain existence by petty trading which often leads to crime. Most large towns are faced with this problem and have issued town planning ordinances in an attempt to ensure that future development shall take place in an orderly manner. In many cases the harm is already done, but at Benin for example, the situation appears to have been met in time and the roads

for new development have been laid out in advance so that plots may be built upon to a master plan.

As a supplement to this programme schemes of village improvement are being put in hand all over the country. Many of the creek villages on the coast have received grants for the building of proper canoes wharves, while neat market compounds are being set out, motor parks provided and social or community buildings erected. Individually these improvements may seem small, but when it is realized that in many cases the villagers are assisting with communal labour, the importance of this activity in fostering a hitherto non-existent civic pride can be appreciated.

From a long term point of view the development of the country's natural resources and all that this implies, is the most far reaching aspect of the plan. The maintenance bill alone for the new services that are being provided will form a heavy charge on the national budget. Nigeria is predominantly an agricultural country, and as such can only expect prosperity from systematic and orderly cultivation. This in many areas has not been given, some of the tribes being nomadic in character, preferring to move on as soon as the ground is drained of its goodness. There are limited resources of mineral wealth, on the central plateau where tin is mined and in the south eastern area where coal is found. There is timber in the coastal areas but much of it will remain inaccessible for some time. The potential prosperity of the country lies in its land and in the raw materials which are the result of agriculture and the rearing of livestock. Experimental farms are being established in all parts of the country to improve the quality and strain of indigenous crops. In the Northern Provinces, experiments in rice growing under methods of controlled irrigation and of the mechanized production of groundnuts are in hand. In the south the main activity is the efficient exploitation of the palm oil industry. Hitherto this has been produced in a random and haphazard way, but with the opening up of roads and the provision of mechanical transport the amount of raw material that can be brought to the mill is being steadily increased. New machinery and mills are being provided and, when established, are handed over to the native administrations or co-operative societies. Unfortunately the whole of the southern area is tsetse infected. This precludes the raising of livestock and consequently there is no natural manuring of the land. Organized research is being carried out on the problem of tsetse infection generally, and steady progress is being made in plotting the infected areas in the forest belt. The introduction of livestock on a large scale would do more than any other single step to ensure agricultural prosperity.

World shortages, political unrest and rising prices have had a considerable retarding effect on the original schedule prepared when

the development plan was launched. Figures up to March 1948 show that little over half the amount of money allocated had actually been spent, and while there has been an improvement during the last year, there is a small but vociferous body of African opinion which is ready to make political capital out of this state of affairs. The shortage of educated Africans has already been referred to, and this makes the shortage of European staff doubly serious. The progress reports issued from time to time show that the number of building inspectors authorized is 66, while the number available is 33, that the number of executive road engineers required is 23, against the actual complement of five, and so on. In spite of the recent general raising of salaries, the much increased cost of post-war living prevents rapid recruitment of staff. With the prophylactic medicines now available the West African climate is tolerable for Europeans but, because of the complete lack of educational facilities, the children of Government employees have to be sent home when school age approaches. The financial strain of maintaining two households is too great to be borne. This, combined with the fact that few additions were made to staff during the war, has resulted in a top-heavy administration, consisting on the one hand of those approaching retirement age, and on the other hand of young men who on their own admission are only in the Colonial Service "until things improve at home." In the temperate climate of the central plateau there has recently been established a school for the children of missionaries, and until similar facilities are offered to the children of Government officials staffing problems will continue to compromise the whole progress of the plan.

Delays and bottlenecks in the import of essential materials are an added complication. The Crown Agents are the medium through which all orders are executed and Nigeria is not the only country which is making its demands heard. These delays are particularly affecting the supply of heavy machinery for the provision of water supply and the building of roads as a consequence of a wait of anything up to three years. The whole system of ordering and priorities, including ordering for Government undertakings, should be overhauled as many of the commercial firms do not seem to have the same difficulties of supply.

It is a valid criticism of the development plan that to a large number of the people, those who live in the remote parts of the country, it appears as a mere administrative action which will unfortunately leave them entirely unaffected. This is bound to be the case in a land where distances are great, where the population is sparsely distributed and where local authority is loosely interpreted. The Nigeria Local Development Board has powers to allocate loans to native administrations, whether it be for the development of a

township, the building of a dispensary or the improvement of a poultry farm. An example of the type of work encouraged by the board is the Kwa Falls Settlement Scheme. This has the dual object of relieving the thickly populated and man-eroded country of the Eastern Province and at the same time of developing a hitherto backward area of land which is now becoming accessible by recently built roads. Grants cover the cost of land and health services, and loans the cost of preparing the ground, buying equipment and advances to settlers. Houses have been built and the settlers are encouraged to make the land productive by systematic cultivation in contrast to the areas they have had to abandon through exhaustion of the soil. The scheme is a success and further schemes on similar lines are under way.

It is an encouraging sign that the number of applicants to the development board is greatly increasing and it has been reconstituted on a regional basis with power to make grants to private individuals. Local interest and initiative must be stimulated so that every African may play an increasing part in his own development. That the will exists is shown by the remarkable feat which has been carried out in the Udi Division near Onitsha. In 1944 a wish was expressed by the villagers for a road to link up their village with the local dispensary. Funds were not forthcoming and so, encouraged by their District Officer, they built the road themselves by voluntary labour. Other villages in the district were inspired to carry out similar work and the construction of maternity homes, co-operative shops, markets and other improvements was undertaken. And then mass literacy schools were commenced with local Government officials as voluntary teachers. In these remote areas the independent and progressive District Officer can do much to encourage local initiative, and the people of the Udi Division may well be proud of their achievement. It is in the spontaneous enthusiasm of people such as this that the main hope for the future lies. The development plan must not be allowed to appear as an administrative measure passed by a central yet remote Government which is out of touch with the common feeling, however inadequately expressed. It is "an act of faith in the people of Nigeria"; the will for advancement is there, and must be encouraged until the full response to it is made.

(The author, an A.R.I.B.A. and an Associate Member of the Town Planning Institute, has just returned from a tour in Nigeria for which a Research Grant was made by the University of London.)

HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS

BY J. MACALISTER BREW

We see things not as they are—but as we are.

H. M. Tomlinson.

WE have raised the standard of living and yet the sum total of human happiness even on occasions when the majority are "on pleasure bent" seems as much a matter of chance as ever it was. All our material needs are in measurable distance of being satisfied; all the wisdom of the ages is at the disposal of all through far-reaching educational reforms—and yet the problem "how shall a man most truly live?" remains unanswered for the majority.

People are full of theories on how to put the world right. The economists answer that if all have enough to eat, and if there is good housing and full employment and an efficient health service, all will be well in time. The politicians answer that if only all will embrace some "ism"—Communism, Liberalism, Socialism—all will be achieved in time. The many religious teachers answer that if only people could be brought to embrace *the* faith, and find in that a sense of purpose, a philosophy, a driving force, all would be well. Meanwhile human beings are working, living and will presumably die having never "lived all the days of their lives" and having squandered their own happiness and that of all those with whom they are in contact in a holocaust of irritation, emotional blackmail and conscious (as well as unconscious) cruelty—of which the least to be deplored is the physical variety, since it is usually the most transient in its effects.

The commonsense answer is no answer—nor is the despairing "You can't change human nature. People just *are* selfish or self-centred." The commonsense people are those who know that illusive family from the slums who, transported to a new housing estate kept coals in the bath—or that churchgoer who is "no better a Christian than I am"—or that politician who "is out for what he can get for himself"—or that psychologist "whose wife has just left him and whose children are the problem of all problem children."

History on the one hand and the wealth of scientific knowledge on human behaviour amassed by modern research on the other, all

point to the fact that human behaviour *can* be changed, but that as Mannheim puts it: "The main difficulty is that we are not yet accustomed to studying the human mind in relation to the change in the social situation." In a speech which President Roosevelt prepared just before his death—but never delivered—he pointed out that the history of the next decade or so would depend upon education and personal relationships. It is in this latter field that we are so badly in need of conscious education.

This is a world in which everyone is afraid—afraid that their children will not realize their ambitions for them, afraid that they are not or will not be equal to their work, afraid of people (which leads to quarrels), afraid of peoples (which leads to war). Above all people are afraid of themselves and therefore fearful, in their leisure, lest others should be having more fun than they, of being alone, lest in an unguarded moment their souls should drop in and have a chat with them.

The correspondence columns of many newspapers and magazines from the impersonal columns of *The Times* itself to the chattiest of the women's magazines, carry an accumulation of evidence concerning the fears, despairs, loneliness, tragedies and doubts of the literate. The overheard conversations in buses, trains, theatre queues, restaurants, pubs and clubs add to this the evidence of the vocal. Even the hard-headed industrialist, now that material incentives are not the only factors to be considered in relation to productivity, has reached the point where the conviction has almost been established that to be "businesslike" with the accent on getting things done, only too often means that the human factor undoes the business. All this evidence brings one to the conclusion therefore, that perhaps some of the answer (since of course the economist, the politician and the faithful have each their contribution to make to the full solution) lies in the absurdity of our *laissez faire* policy concerning human relations and human behaviour. Surely the time has come when we must formulate active and organized instruction on this art of living together in peace and concord.

The fact is, that until we learn actively to divest ourselves of at least a few of our unnecessary human frailties of jealousies, vanities, fears and aggressions—until we learn to ask first (rather than as an afterthought) *why* people have done this or that, instead of dwelling solely on *what* they have done, friendships will still be sucked dry by those vampires who want your life instead of their own, homes will continue to be wrecked and little children founder in the ruins, great industries will still stagger from strike to strike, and the enmity which arises between human beings from cowardice on the one hand and a desire to dominate on the other will still fan the flames of international strife. No one will have the four freedoms, since no

one is prepared to allow others the freedom he claims for himself.

Many people profess to be concerned about the increasing number of both juvenile and adult delinquents—those unfortunates with too much activity and no goodwill towards their fellows. Perhaps the more urgent problem however is the increasing number of people who are neurotic, in the sense that they have a certain amount—but not enough—goodwill and no activity. In a world seemingly full of injustice the delinquent still seeks to justify himself with the plea of : "Why should he have it while I . . ."—but the real danger is in the growing ranks of neurotics who plaintively assert "I would do my duty if . . ."

Now that life need no longer be a grim struggle to keep alive, an increasing majority are becoming uneasily aware of the fact that man indeed does not live by bread alone. When the days are no longer a grim procession from work to bed and bed to work we are finding time to look around ; but a faulty education has in many cases made us critical rather than constructive, and a desire to be right too quickly, and the resultant disappointment is causing too many to surrender to apathy. Life blooms not with roses but with the cactus plant of irritation, and a growing number of people assert like Richard III, "since I cannot prove a lover, to entertain these fair well spoken days I am determined to prove a villain."

It is commonplace to maintain that people have become more sensitive, that civilization has made us "soft", that the complexity of life and the mechanization of labour have made us apathetic, but may not the trouble be that now, when there is more leisure in which to "feel" and to "think", we are unable to bear the pressure, because our minds and emotions have not been trained or educated to bear it ? As Adler used to say to his patients : "All that you feel is very natural—but perhaps you need not feel it quite so much." Just as we have learned to teach children to grow to an enjoyment of their physical capacity, we must now pay more attention to growing to an enjoyment of life itself.

At the moment human beings seem to be divided into four main groups : those who seek their success in a parasitic direction, leaning upon others and refusing to carry out their obligations by themselves ; those who domineer over others and seek to act as dictators ; those who retreat, both from their obligations and also from other human beings, and the all too few who accept co-operation with others and in fact behave co-operatively. Conscious education is needed to swell the ranks of the last group lest we all perish. But if this is to be accomplished, a co-ordinated effort must be made to educate people to stabilize their emotional lives ; physical well-being is not enough. Indeed it is becoming increasingly apparent that the satisfaction of material needs, if not accompanied by an attempt to educate people

emotionally and spiritually is merely an exorcizing of the devils of poverty, sickness and care in order that the seven devils of nervous frustration and anxiety may take their place.

It has been estimated that ten per cent. of the adult community suffer from minor nervous illnesses during the course of each year and the greatest single cause of absence from work is some form of neurosis, and not physical disorders. Has not the time come, therefore, when young people in their last years at school, the older groups in youth organizations, and all those people exposed to adult or further education of one sort or another should be taught some of the main principles of what we might call—for want of a better term—the hygiene of the mind and emotions. We have become accustomed to teaching people the elementary laws of physical health, hygiene and first aid, and the results have been heartening in the extreme. There can be few people nowadays who do not know what steps to take to help a sufferer from a fainting fit, but how few there are who have any idea of how to cope with a child, an adult, or even themselves, when suffering from a fit of temper. Fewer still seem to know that, given a little knowledge of the way in which the human mind works, many of these temper tantrums in old and young could be avoided altogether.

One must not forget that the Americans have already done a great deal towards preparing definite courses of instruction for school children on the subject of personal relationships and much experience and help might well be sought there. It is also important to pay tribute to the work that is being carried on here and there in Great Britain, in youth groups and in some industrial groups to cope with some of the problems of “getting on with other people.” Again those grand pioneers of an entirely new technique in adult education—the Parent Teachers’ Association—are also contributing a great deal to leaven the lump of ignorance. And we must neither despise nor ignore the contribution to mental health and hygiene that is being made through the wisdom of that “psychologist by intuition”, the “Answers to Correspondents” journalist.

People influenced in any of these ways, usually the leading personalities in their clubs, schools, societies, works and factories, impress their outlook on others and a tradition is formed and a new outlook established. Mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters, so trained, see the true nature for instance of a family row, and by interpretation bring it into the open. At the moment the majority blame the weather, inadequate rations, or the class system !

One of the most touching things about such groups of people who come together to discuss these questions of human relationships is the almost invariable comment : “You know it *is* such a help to realize that others feel the same—that others have the same difficulties

and problems. I thought it was only me." It is this attitude of "only me"—which is a recruiting ground for that veritable army of "poor me's" who, realizing that they cannot alter facts, surrender themselves to bitterness, nagging or apathy, since they have never been taught that even if facts cannot be altered, one can alter one's way of looking at them.

As has been indicated some information is being gradually disseminated, but only too often it is the unplanned by-product of an isolated or immediate or individual personal problem. Consequently the guidance offered is usually specifically related to the personal situation that has become a problem. The fundamental need is that all should receive education in those laws of mental health which all must observe if human happiness is not to be wrecked daily on the Scylla of indifference or the Charybdis of intolerance.

One has every sympathy with those who take the view that much harm may be done by the direct teaching of psychology, when the science is still in its infancy. One cannot fail to be troubled from time to time by the fatal fascination which the course labelled "Introduction to Psychology" seems to have for self-conscious introverted intellectuals, but there are times in the history of mankind when to be over-cautious is to be criminal. The moment when social security is within reach, but when it may yet prove illusory because the majority of people are emotionally unfit to measure up to the social responsibility which it entails, is no moment to be reluctant to seize every opportunity to persuade as many people as possible that life is a beneficent colleague rather than a malevolent adversary.

If indeed, as the magnificent preamble to the UNESCO constitution asserts "wars begin in the minds of men so that it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed" the matter is not only one of national urgency but of international security. Too many people seem to regard such an utterance as a call to persuade people to become "good citizens" not only of their own country but of the world. Alas, for the majority, any attempt to educate people in world citizenship is merely a futile effort to take people from where they are not, to where they have no burning desire to be. The plain fact is, that one has to learn to be a good friend to one's neighbour, to one's family and (not of least importance) to oneself before one can be a satisfactory member of even a small community. To attempt to inculcate a sense of world citizenship in the minds of people who cannot turn a minus into a plus in their own lives is akin to teaching a child to manage an aeroplane before he can walk steadily on his own feet. Classes in citizenship are not a substitute for emotional and spiritual growth. Only better individuals can make a better civilization.

The great religious teachers have always preached just this. The New Testament itself can in all reverence be regarded as a great psychological text book. The great ones like Aristotle and Plato have always known it, pleading that man may be educated so that he may be "in contact not with images but with reality since thus he will give birth not to images but to the very truth itself—and being thus the parent and the nurse of true virtue it will be his lot to become a friend of God—and, so far as any man can be, immortal and absolute."

But "other times—other manners." It may be that in this scientific age the most effective way to teach many people their duty to God and their neighbour may in the first instance at all events be through a scientific approach. All the most recent discoveries in the psychological field combine to show that the earlier theories of what may be termed "devil-possessing"—that is, that human beings are controlled in their actions by glands, "drives", "sex-urges" and the like—are only a part of the truth. From the cradle to the grave human beings need first of all to give, and then to receive affection, admiration, praise and appreciation. In other words love is natural and hate is what happens when love is denied.

The great spiritual teachers of the past have known this with an instinctive wisdom; religion and science having quarrelled for many years are now in their greatest exponents finding a common ground. Even those scientists least inclined by training and temperament to fall back on a miraculous interpretation of the universe come to a halt when faced with the stupendous achievement and adaptability of the human mind. By all the laws of biology and psychology and the rest, all those who suffered untold physical and mental torture during the war years should have died—and yet many still live—and live abundantly. Conversely, every doctor knows that with all the most modern scientific inventions at his disposal a patient without that mysterious "will-to-live" usually can and does slip out of life.

Magic formulae are restlessly and impatiently sought for, vast plans are made to "influence the masses", but what we need is people who care enough, and know enough, to do the humble job of influencing small groups of people to lay hold of life, regarding it, not as a battle to be fought, but as a gift to be enjoyed.

Where science is still in its infancy the accumulated wisdom of the ages can be brought to its aid and much might be done here and now to help ordinary people to readjust their lives, to modify their attitude towards their immediate family, to improve their social contacts and ameliorate frustrations often caused by their work. There is enough expert knowledge of the hygiene of the human mind in being at the moment to make this possible. Unfortunately however the expert is only too often afraid to simplify, and the ordinary man

would seem unable to grasp without much training the fact that the price of liberty is always personal responsibility. Simplification for the greater understanding of the common man was one of the charges brought against Socrates at his trial—it is implicit too in the trial of Jesus—and yet, without this knowledge in the minds and hearts of the majority all our social services may yet be in vain—and once again, surrendering to the drifting stream, having achieved an uneasy peace “with no heart to ensue it,” we may yet go guttering down to war. War and many other forms of inter-social conflict are not the result only of environmental conditions, but are largely due to the mass instability of the individuals who make up society. The hope of mankind lies in stabilizing the people who compose our society so that dissatisfactions may not spread to the point of general conflagration.

It is surely no bad thing that people shall be taught to listen and understand the counsels of their own heart, for in psychology and religion alike, “the counsel of thine own heart stands,” and “there is no man that is truer to this than it : a man’s mind will oft tell him more than seven watchmen that sit above in a high tower.”

To many of us it is a cause of regret and bitter disappointment that most of mankind now feel unable to accept the great spiritual truths and ethical training of organized religion, but this is no argument for refusing to let people obtain that help from psychology which they will not (at the moment at all events) accept from the Church.

(Dr. Brew is Education Adviser to the National Association of Girls' Clubs and Mixed Clubs.)

DUST

BY E. L. GRANT WATSON

THE fine motes that float unseen and unsuspected in the atmosphere condition our manner of perception of the light as we behold it reflected and broken up by these countless particles. Dust can often, when there is too much of it, be a nuisance ; it is grouped with the moth as a corrupter. It can be the bearer of disease, yet humanity could never wish fully to abolish it, and it is fortunate that we cannot do so. To dust we owe the habitability of the earth, and without a dust-diffused atmosphere we would not see sea or sky or land as they are seen by us in any portion of the earth's surface.

If the atmosphere were dustless, the sky would appear black and the stars would be visible at midday. A shaft of dustless air passing through an aperture would be invisible to a beholder looking at it from one side. The surface on which it struck would reflect the light, but the air through which it passed would be of the deepest, dark blue. In the air as we see it, the unseen particles of dust each reflect and break up the light. The sky overhead seen through a dust-free moistureless atmosphere is a dark blue. Where there are comparatively few particles of dust to break up the light, the sky appears blue. Down towards the horizon where we are looking through a thicker layer of atmosphere the blue fades to lighter shades, and finally to a white mistiness. The gorgeous tints of sunrise and sunset are due to the sunlight which comes through thick layers of dust-laden atmosphere.

Experiments on the visibility or non-visibility of air were made by Professor Tyndal in the year 1868 and it was Tyndal who established the fact that a sunbeam passing through air in which there was absolutely no dust would be totally black and invisible, but when that beam was passed through air in which only a very little dust was present in very minute particles, the air would appear as blue as a summer sky. His experiments of passing a ray of light through a long glass cylinder demonstrated that if the cylinder was full of air of an ordinary room, however clean and well ventilated, the interior of the cylinder appeared brilliantly illuminated. But when it is exhausted and then filled with air which is passed slowly through fine gauze of intensely heated platinum wire, so as to burn all floating

particles, which are mainly organic, then the light will pass through the cylinder without illuminating the interior, which viewed from the side, will appear as if filled with a dense black cloud. If more air is passed through the cylinder through the heated gauze but more rapidly, so that the dust particles are not wholly consumed a slight blue haze will begin to appear, which, as more air is passed in will gradually become a pure blue similar to that of a summer sky. If more particles of dust are allowed to enter, the blue becomes paler, until this at last fades into the light of common day. These experiments demonstrated that in pure air where there were no dust particles there was nothing to reflect the light, and therefore the light passed through unobserved. Where a few minute particles were in the cylinder, a blue light appeared, because the tiny particles would reflect chiefly the more refrangible rays, which are of shorter wavelength, which were scattered in all directions. The longer wavelengths of red and yellow passed through.

Near the earth's surface, the atmosphere is heavily laden with dust particles. Hence the white light. Higher up, and particularly towards the zenith, the dust particles are smaller and more widely scattered. At great heights only very small particles, only the lightest, are supported. These existing through a great thickness of air will reflect the blue and violet rays, and produce that nearly uniform tint that we call the blue of the sky. At times of sunset and sunrise, when the sun's light penetrates a thick layer of dust-laden atmosphere as it strikes tangentially the earth's surface, then the yellow and red wave-lengths are reflected and lo and behold, the glories of the sunrise and sunset. Every shade of colour can blend to form an infinite variety of harmonies. Air currents, constantly present, arrange both dust and the water vapour held suspended in the air, in strata of varying extent and density, and of various forms of clouds, which in their different ways, according to the atmospheric conditions, absorb and reflect light. As the sun sinks lower, or rather as the earth movements spin the observer nearer to the darkness, the display of colour changes its character, and most amazing are the colour-effects when the sun is hidden behind the horizon ; then it is that owing to the change of angles a larger amount of coloured light is reflected towards us, and more especially are these colours to be noticed when there is a great deal of cloud present. When the sun was above the horizon they intercepted much of the light, but when the sun is no longer in direct vision, the light illumines the undersides of clouds and of the air-strata of different densities. Then it is we see at its best that gorgeous display which we call sunrise or sunset.

It would be a foolish man who would attempt to put into words all the feeling of exultation, of wonder, of appreciation, and of reverence that such a display can kindle in the human heart. Is this

crowning miracle of nature due to the chance arrangements of dust and water-vapour particles ? There are men who would say most certainly this is all due to chance, and it is a mere accident that we are moved to such extravagant admiration. There are others who would say that this chance-seeming arrangement is the work of a supreme artist, a great creative genius, and that here in the heavens is displayed his handiwork. And there are some who will go further and say : that if men would but make a practice of looking at the sky, once every day with observant and contemplative eyes, and would remember from day to day the patterns there observed, then our natures would be surely changed, and that from this spectacle created out of dust and vapour and light, we should learn to apprehend in some small part the Purpose, there so partially revealed. And by that I would suppose such poetic dreamers to mean that those values which seem to grow and swell within the hearts of men, as they raise their eyes to the skies, that those values, of which we are conscious or vaguely conscious, tally and find significance with the great unknown, unexplained purpose of creation, and that in aesthetic appreciation, we come so near as we are able to finding harmony in the worlds that are within our hearts and minds, with the expression of the universal order which manifests itself within the dust-laden, vaporous atmosphere of our planet. Here on a scale, which to our human limitation must seem vast and grand, we behold a cosmic harmony, and as we gaze we feel ourselves to be lost and yet found within its inscrutability.

A demonstration of a most remarkable kind of how the presence of dust can change the colours of the skies was afforded during the two or three years after the eruption at Krakatoa, when the greater part of an island in the Java Sea was blown up by volcanic action, and vast clouds of dust of the finest nature were carried up to a height of many miles. It was caught in currents of air flowing northward and southward above the equatorial zone. As these currents approached the temperate zones, they met other currents continually flowing eastwards. By these the dust was carried completely round the world, and its presence in these high layers of atmosphere manifested in brilliant sunset glows of exceptional splendour. These continued in diminishing brilliance for three years, and it was calculated that before they finally disappeared, some of the finer dust clouds must have travelled three times round the globe.

The presence of dust in the atmosphere is not only responsible for the manner in which we perceive the light, and for all the infinite variety of atmospheric luminosity, but it conditions our human life and all animal and plant life in a most salient manner. The presence of dust in the higher atmosphere enables the rising water-vapour, sucked up by the sun from the waters of the ocean, to

condense, thus forming clouds and mist. Experiments have been made to demonstrate on a small scale what happens in the vast area of the heavens. If a jet of steam is passed into two large glass receivers, one which is full of ordinary air and the other with air which has been filtered to keep out dust particles, then the vessel full of ordinary air will at once be filled with condensed vapour, in the usual cloudy form, while the air in the other vessel will remain quite transparent. Further experiments, more closely approximating to what happens in natural conditions, were devised. Water was placed in two vessels, prepared as before. When the water had evaporated sufficiently to saturate the air, the vessels were slightly cooled. A dense cloud was at once formed in the dust-containing vessel, and the other remained quite clear, thus proving that the vapour did not condense unless there were particles of solid matter present to form nuclei on which condensation could begin. The density of the cloud, it was further proved, was proportionate to the number of particles. If there were no dust particles in the air, escaping steam would remain invisible. We would be unaware when our kettles were boiling if our kitchens were dustless.

It is worth while to look at some of the disadvantages we should suffer if there were not dust in the upper atmosphere to condense the water-vapour into clouds. The air would soon become super-saturated with water-vapour, and in consequence of this state of super-saturation, dew would be continuously deposited. The result would be that everything, including our clothing, would be constantly dripping wet. These copious dews would form most readily on vegetation. In forests a great deal of dew would be condensed, from which would flow torrents. And if we suppose that solid particles were occasionally carried up into the air by violent winds, then the super-saturated atmosphere would condense rapidly on them, and while the drops were falling they would gather all the moisture of the locality, resulting in sheets of water, and water-spouts, which by sheer weight would be so heavy that in their fall they would wash away much of things, animate or inanimate, on which they fell. It would be doubtful whether the earth would be habitable.

If we carry our imaginings a little further we shall see that in a dustless atmosphere, the chief mode of discharging vapour would be by contact with those objects which stood up from the earth's surface, namely, the mountain ranges. Aqueous vapour being lighter than air would accumulate in enormous quantities in the upper strata of the atmosphere, which would be always super-saturated, and ready to condense. The area of land in the upper heights of the mountains of the world is a very small fraction of the total earth's area. The air in contact with these upper slopes would readily discharge its water, which would soon form torrents. This

condensation on the mountains would set up currents to restore equilibrium, thus bringing in more super-saturated air towards the mountains, to add its supply to the torrents ; and this air in its turn, as its vapour condensed, would add to the indraught towards the mountains. Winds would be constantly blowing towards every mountain range, keeping up the condensation and discharging day and night from one year to another. The mountains would be devastated and uninhabitable. They would, as condensers, steal the water-vapour from other parts. The non-mountainous regions would become arid, and unable to support vegetation, and, consequently, life.

From these considerations we can see that the presence of fine particles of dust in the upper atmosphere, not only gives us our clouds, our weather and our sunset effects, but also makes habitable our world.

How did the fine particles get into the upper atmosphere ? Since they are mostly organic in origin, they were no doubt carried up from the surface of the earth by rising air-currents. Perhaps in the early stages of earthly evolution there were few of such particles in the atmosphere, and the conditions already postulated prevailed. The earth was at that time incapable of supporting life, and only gradually as the dust-particles increased in numbers, did the climatic conditions change, and, as the dust particles accumulated, more living organisms produced matter sufficiently light to be carried in a desiccated state up towards the stratosphere. The condition suitable for the variety of earthly life as we now know it, took on the nature of an organism, a growing, correlated whole. The poets, the men of intuition and imagination, have thought of the earth itself as an organism. The poetic vision has seen it as a living being, with forests for its hair and fire in its pulsating and eruptive veins.

Whitman has spoken of the stars, the planets and the earth :

Of the interminable sisters,
Of the ceaseless cotillions of sisters
Of the centripetal and centrifugal sisters, the elder and younger sisters,
The beautiful sister we know dances on with the rest.

The world seen as an organism, having its living functions within the functioning of a yet larger universe, is of course an animistic concept, and animism is regarded as characteristic of the primitive mind. Primitives are certainly animistic. The development of science through its earlier stages, when exact measurement and pointer-readings have seemed the criterion of truth, has led men far from the simple and naïve animism of the savage. Instead of accepting the traditional wisdom of the ancients, men, as they grew in thought and individuality, have learnt to separate themselves in

some part from their situation, which, with increasing knowledge, unfolded an evermore complicated universe. Now, as science enlarges so rapidly its boundaries, the universe of knowledge, in tune with the universe of space, expands also, and, as the extension of the known becomes greater, the extension of the unknown, bordering the known, becomes greater still. Energy, space and time as they find values which the mind of man apports—these comprise all we can know of life, and strangely it would seem that the further we look into the things of the external world, the further we look into the nature of man, the beholder and valuer of the universe. Within the limits of what we vaguely call life is both the space-time-energy system and the mind, which latter is not of the space-time-energy system, but which values it. Its values are constantly changing, for knowledge alone cannot contain this ultimate thing which is life. The unknown is of its portion. All we can be sure of is that we are of this duality, are within the greater organism, and as the limpets, the salmon and the eels emerge from our perceptions from out an unknown background, and contain within themselves inscrutable enigmas, so for the widening vision which science has helped to create, a larger animism arises. Looking into existence, we sometimes are able to perceive and to taste of its fundamental and infinite joy ; the initial urge appears as the life eternal which includes all manifestations. Not only the animal and vegetable worlds, but the mineral world participates and

. . . strange groups

Of young volcanoes come up, cyclops-like
Staring together with their eyes on flame.

This initial joy, this eternal power, which it is simplest to call God, has found, so far as we can read at present, its consummation in the mind of man, gathering there the attributes which are scattered over the visible world. *There* it finds a conscious or part-conscious expression : " This insubstantial pageant."

IN JEZREEL

(2 *Kings IX*)

BY LORD GORELL

What news, what news ? What says my Lord the King ?
What message do you bring ?

Madam, I——

Is it peace ? Speak quickly, speak !
Or branded shall you be on either cheek
And tongueless, dog, for ever !

Madam I,

Your sorrowful slave, must tell the truth—and die.

Ha ! Is it so ? Ill news, you mean ?

Say on : I am the Queen.

Is not my name the great one—Jezebel ?

Madam, I tremble as I tell.

Upon our gracious Lord and King defeat—

The gods forfend it ! Scurrilous mongrel, eat
So base, so false a word !

Pardon be to your servant ! You have heard
A portion only of Truth's tale. I dread—

The King is dead ?

Even so.

Go !—

But stay ! Upon your life, hell-spawning scum,
How did this come ?

Madam, the watchman in the tower cried
That he a nearing company espied.

King Joram sent two messengers—in vain :
Neither returned to him again ;

And then the leading charioteer he knew—

Who ?

Madam, my lips are loth to say the name :
But it was like Jehu's driving, for he came—

That traitorous sink ! Hell's furies blast his soul !
No more, no more ! I know the whole.
This is the Tishbite's doing. May he boil

Lastingly, slowly in Gehenna's oil !
Comes Jehu now this way ?
Madam, I fear me, yes. I pray—
O spue no sickly prayers on me !
I never had the need of such, and now— !
Is it your thought that I should bow
Before the son of Nimshi, the accursed ?
No, let him do his worst !
The day is done.
So get you gone :
I hate you with an everlasting hate !
Madam, I wait
The lightest ordering of your lips to do.
The greater dolt and dullard you !
Out of my sight ! Begone !—

Alone, alone !
Ahab departed, Joram overthrown !
I might have known :
I might have guessed my kingdom could not last.
The day is done : yes, Night approaches fast,
Eternal Night that comes to all at length,
To some a weakness—and to me a strength !
Come, Jehu, and come, Night !
Twin shames, ill, ill your pestilent troth you plight :
So let what must be be :
I have a majesty
Beyond a traitor's fierce imagining.
The daughter, wife, and mother of a king,
I was not born
His hour of ranting glory to adorn :
I queen it to the end—
And that the Fates now send.
Work, I have work to do !
My mirror, girl ! Ah ! Here's a traitor too :
Quick, exorcise her ! What is Art
That cannot crown the valour of the heart
With golden gleams of prideful pageantry ?
Young as the Rose of Sharon will I be,
Perfumed and painted—let my eyes outshine
All jewels of the East with dexterous line
Above them and below ! Great as the dream

That Ahab fondled must I seem—
 Good ! Colour flames. I am as I would be,
 The hostess beautiful of victory.
 And let my hair be as my spirit, high :
 I am about to die—
 Thanks be to Baal for the blaze of hate,
 Quenchless companion of the desolate !
 Who knows the spirit of Fear ?
 Jehu draws near,
 And I am throned upon the mount of Death.
 Cold, bitter cold my final blast of breath—
 He comes, he comes ! The agony is past.
 Old Naboth is avenged at last.
 Outward I lean this venomed taunt to throw,
 So !—
 ‘ Had Zimri peace, who slew his master ? ’ Never !
 Rot in your triumphing : mine is for ever !

ASPECTS OF DISTANCE

BY GLORIA KOMAI

SILK haze . . . Sleepy narcissus miles ; birches
 Half dream, half silver ; spaded sweet earth less
 A grave than loved room for live roots.
 Brimmed bowls :
 As if in purplish grapes the South moved, in
 Your mouth, distance ; across the table, none.

A FRANCO-GERMAN WAR DIARY

BY DAVID OGILVY

Captain David Stuart Ogilvy, a cousin of Gladstone, served as a young officer in the Indian Mutiny and the Crimean war. After leaving the army he became British Consul at Smyrna. A fine linguist, he spoke and wrote perfect French. He was devoted to France and when the German-Franco war began he left Smyrna to volunteer for the French army. This diary, the first part of which was published in the June number of *THE FORTNIGHTLY*, tells the rest of his story, for he was killed in action soon after November 19, 1870. Written to his wife, it is now in the possession of Mrs. Hugh Dalton, his granddaughter.

Tours. November 12, 1870.

I hear to-day that my plan for the National Defence is to be submitted to a committee. I am to be at the headquarters of the 18th Corps on the 16th at Nevers. The corps is said to be strong. I shall be directly under the orders of Colonel Charles of the artillery. I expect that our corps will be engaged shortly. We are very short of maps, so that my knowledge of surveying will come into use.

My equipment is all ready. I have received my commission, and an order for two horses, which however I have not yet been able to get, as there is nothing fit for an officer in the stables of the remount. However I hope to be able to suit myself with a couple out of the Prussian horses which will arrive tonight.

I have been running about all day after the horses and my uniform—but provided I get the horses, shall arrive at Nevers fully equipped and ready to take the field. It is very cold here, raining now, and we had a little snow early this morning. Snow fell heavily at Orléans whilst the fighting was going on—and the barometer which had risen, has again fallen considerably.

People here, though delighted at the victory, took it wonderfully coolly for Frenchmen. Even the passage of the prisoners did not excite much enthusiasm. However there is a general feeling of confidence both in the Government and in the army. There is no doubt that the new levies are in reality superior to the French troops, as they were at the beginning of the war—for they are animated by a strong patriotic feeling, and contain in their ranks many men of education.

I have met several more officers escaped in disguise from Metz.

All without exception agree as to Bazaine's treason, and I think there can be but little doubt of it. I have also seen a few who escaped from Sedan—and there again there are various facts which it is difficult to explain.

I have been made more fuss about than I like and certainly cannot complain of not having been warmly received.

Tours. November 13, 1870.

We have received no important news from the front to-day, except that it is officially reported that the number of prisoners taken in the battles round Orléans amounts to 2,500. It would appear that the Prussians had been plundering to a great extent. One of the artillery waggons captured from them was full of shawls, lace and dresses—and in another there were 40 clocks. The Bavarian prisoners express themselves as not feeling any animosity to France, and say they have nothing to gain.

As regards myself, I have important news to give. This afternoon I received a letter from General de Loverdo, who is *Général directeur* here. He is in fact chief of the staff for everything regarding the army, out of Paris, and is moreover specially charged with all questions of strategy. The letter is not a simple official letter, as it is written entirely in the General's handwriting, which busy as he is, is extraordinary. As it is not long, I transcribe it :

Tours, 13 Novembre.

Ministère de la
Guerre

Monsieur,

J'ai lu avec un vif intérêt le mémoire que vous avez remis à S.E. le Ministre de la Marine. C'est vous dire que je tiens beaucoup à avoir avec vous un entretien, pour vous prier de développer quelques idées, qui sont indiquées dans ce travail. Je serai heureux de vous recevoir à l'heure qui vous conviendra le mieux. Vous me trouverez principalement le soir, soit demain de 8 à 10 heures.

Veillez agréer Monsieur, l'assurance de ma considération la plus distinguée.

(Signed) *Le Général directeur*

M. de Loverdo.

To understand the importance of this document, you must remember that it is addressed by a General in a most important position to a simple Captain on the staff. If you understand at all the rules of a military hierarchy, you will see how extraordinary this is. Moreover, where I especially anticipated opposition to my ideas was among the superior officers of the French army, as suggestions coming from one who had only held the rank of Captain in the English army were likely to be viewed disdainfully, especially as, even admitting my ideas were of some value, still professional jealousy was likely to come into play. Whereas here is the General specially charged with all strategical movements out of Paris, expressing

great interest in my plan, and wishing to consult with me about it. It is strange that hitherto I have not met with one person who has studied my plan who has not been fully a convert to my ideas. You must remember too, that the Government here is literally overwhelmed with quack plans for the defence of France, so that *a priori* every plan brought forward is looked on with anything but a favourable eye, and this constitutes an amount of prejudice which has to be overcome. My idea, though very simple, seems to be quite new to the French strategists.

A Greek legion is being formed, the first detachment of which has left Marseilles for the front. I wish those who have to command them joy. It is an honour of which I am certainly not ambitious. The Irish legion has been a total failure. It now numbers only about 100 men, and they are I believe to be disbanded.

I have got all my uniform ready. It consists literally of a double-breasted Norfolk coat, with three stripes of gold lace on the cuffs, and artillery buttons, trousers with two broad red stripes, kepi of blue cloth with three stripes of gold lace, and sword with black belt, and plain steel scabbard. I have turned a pair of dress trousers, and another of morning trousers into uniform, by having red stripes put to them. I have also made my old blue greatcoat, the sleeve of which Alfred burnt, and also one of my frock coats into uniforms, simply by the addition of gold lace and artillery buttons. I have got a good and complete outfit, with everything I want except a couple of waterproof sheets, which I much want, and can get nowhere, and a travelling lantern, with tin slides to guard the glass, and sufficiently large to burn candles. I have everything else complete.

I have not yet been able to get my chargers. The horses captured from the Prussians have been handed over to the cavalry here and not to the remount. If I get nothing tomorrow, I shall apply for leave to go to Angers, where there is a large depot of horses for the remount, and where I am sure to be able to suit myself.

Tours. November 14, 1870. 10 p.m.

I have just come back from my interview with General de Loverdo—with whom I have had more than an hour's conversation. On arriving at his office, I found he had not yet returned from his dinner, and had to wait a few minutes in company with a retired Colonel, who had come to offer his services in the army. The General came in a few minutes after I arrived. We were waiting in his outer office. He took me at once into his own room, asking me to wait a couple of minutes, whilst he spoke to the Colonel. He left me in his own room, and then went into the outer office to the Colonel, whose business he despatched in five minutes. On his return to me, he told me that he thoroughly agreed in my ideas, and considered

that the plan I had proposed, the idea of which he said was quite new, was the only rational plan for assuring the success of the French arms. He said that the more he had studied it, the more he was convinced of its thorough soundness—and that it was the first idea which had been submitted to him which showed a safe way out of present difficulties. He told me that he had shown the plan I had drawn up to Mr. Gambetta, and to Mr. de Freycinet, the secretary for war—but though he had supported it with the full weight of his authority, yet he could not say whether Mr. Gambetta would accept it or not. He said that much would depend on the report of the commission organized to study the plans for the national defence, the president and one member of which belonged to his staff, to both of whom he had spoken in the strongest terms of my report—and whom he gave me to understand would also support my idea. He has promised me that I shall appear before the commission to support my ideas, and will for that purpose either have me called back, or delay my departure for the front. In the meantime he has transferred me from the artillery staff to the general staff, though I do not yet know with what general officer I shall be placed. Till I receive further orders from him, I do not therefore know even when I shall leave Tours—most probably not till the question of my plan of defence is decided. I had no occasion to argue with him, as he was already converted, but we discussed the plan at length. I ventured some remarks on what I considered the critical position of the French army at present, in which still he quite agreed with me. Of course with the possibility of a letter miscarrying, I dare not enter on these questions to you. Altogether I have his fullest and most cordial support. I mentioned to him that I had not been able to get horses at the remount, but that I had found two excellent horses, which however they were unwilling to purchase at the remount, as they were high priced and both over the regulation age for purchase. He at once authorized me to buy them and, as they are both thoroughbred, I shall be better mounted than most officers. I start tomorrow morning at 5 o'clock for Amboise, to buy the horses. I also saw Mr. Bourrée, formerly French ambassador at Constantinople to-day. He was very civil, and begged me to come and breakfast with him tomorrow or the day after. He asked frequently after you, and whether you were coming to Tours. No news to-day from the front.

Tours. November 18, 1870.

Since the 14th I have been so fully occupied, that I have not even been able to write up my journal. On the 15th I went out to the *Château* of Santinay, near Herbault, in the department of Eure et Loir, to see the horses. I went by railway as far as Amboise, and

thence had to drive 18 miles to the *Château*. I saw the horses which were excellent, and cheap, and would have suited me admirably. One especially was an English mare, a capital fencer, with which I could have crossed any country, and which would have enabled me to perform reconnoitring duties with great efficiency, and little risk—for the falling of one's horse at a leap might entail serious personal consequences, in the presence of the enemy. The proprietor, M. de Fleury, received me very well. I breakfasted at the *Château*. The family consisted of Mr. de Fleury the father, who is an old friend of the Vicomte de Chabannes, his wife, Mr. de Fleury the son and his wife, and a brother-in-law, who was a cavalry officer escaped from Metz. Old Mr. de Fleury gave me a valuable map of the district round Blois, which in our penury of maps may be very useful to me. Mr. de Fleury the son came into Tours with me, bringing his horses with him. The train by which we came back from Amboise was full of Prussian prisoners, 415 in all, of whom six were officers. I got back to Tours very tired, about half past six in the evening, and found a letter waiting for me telling me that the Commission for studying the means of National Defence, wished to see me at one o'clock the next day, to discuss my plan.

On the 16th I went to the office for remounts, and got the order of the officer commanding the remount to purchase Mr. de Fleury's two horses for me, if on examination they were found fit for Government service. I then went with Mr. de Fleury to the officer commanding the remount, and found him to be a cornet, who behaved in the most extravagant way, cursing and swearing at General Loverdo, and the ministry, and refusing positively to examine the horses—or even to look at them. By dint of patience, I got him to obey the formal order of which I was bearer, very much against his will, and he examined the horses. He could not but find them fit for the service, but I am convinced purposely to serve us out for giving him trouble, he offered £26 for the mare, and £24 for the other horse, the prices asked by Mr. de Fleury being £48 for the mare, and £40 for the horse. The prices offered were simply ridiculous, as the remount was paying much higher prices for very inferior animals, and these horses had cost from £100 to £120 each two or three years ago and were in excellent condition. The motive was manifest, simply to get rid of us, and out of spite. Of course, Mr. de Fleury refused the offer. I then went to General Loverdo, and told him unofficially what had passed. If I had reported it officially, the cornet would have been tried by court-martial, and probably shot. General Loverdo however allowed my communication to him to be considered as private, but said he would give a severe warning to the cornet, without saying that he was acquainted with the particulars of his conduct. As regard the horses however nothing could be done, for unless an

official inquiry into the cornet's conduct were made, his estimation of the value of the horses had to be accepted as final. Mr. de Fleury, of course took his horses home, but told me that if the Government would still buy them, I could write to him, and he would send them to wherever I might be. I would have bought the mare at once myself but could not afford it. I wished for her, first as reducing the risks, and in the second place as adding to my efficiency. However I must give it up, for the price is out of the question for me. General Loverdo has written to Caen for a horse for me, though I fear it will not be so good as those refused, and I must wait and look out for a second. This is the only instance in which I have met with anything but civility in France.

At one o'clock I went to the Commission of National Defence, and found that they were holding an extraordinary sitting, for the purpose solely of discussing my plan. A number of other people had come but were all sent away, the secretary of the Commission telling them that the sitting was to be devoted solely to me. The Commission was presided over by Colonel des Orties, who began by telling me that he did not quite agree with me. I found however that he had partly misunderstood my ideas, and a discussion of a couple of hours ensued, which ended by the Commission being unanimous in favour of my plan, the President being the first gained to my cause. If I can now carry the point with Gambetta, the strategy proposed by me, and admitted on all sides to be new, will be positively adopted for the defence of France. After leaving the Commission, I, as I have already said, saw General de Loverdo about the horses, which occupied me till evening. Mr. Matagrín, the *Rédacteur en chef* of the *Constitutionnel* passed the evening with me, and after he left I sat up till three o'clock in the morning, translating for the *Constitutionnel* an article from *The Times*, which they introduced without retouching it. You will find two translations from *The Times*, both made by me, in the numbers of the *Constitutionnel* which I send you. Mr. Matagrín promises to send you the *Constitutionnel* regularly after I leave Tours.

On the 17th I was busy all day completing my outfit ; I have now got everything I want except a couple of waterproof sheets. I have even got a travelling lantern. I also got photographed, as I promised you, and this letter will take you some copies.

This afternoon I am to go to the Chief of the Staff, to get my final orders, so that I shall know when I am to leave, and exactly where I am going. I am I believe to see Mr. Thiers, either to-day or tomorrow, about my plan of defence, but this is not yet quite fixed. The correspondent of *The Times* called on me to-day, and the editor of *La France* has asked me to be at home tomorrow at 12 to receive his call. I have been too busy to go and see Mr. Bourrée again, but

hope to do so tomorrow. I saw yesterday at the Prefecture 25 bags of despatches captured from the Prussians. There has been no news of importance from the front for the last three days, though I hear there has been rather a serious affair this morning at Dreux. The Commandant Robin, who had the first battalion of the *Eclaireurs de Paris*, which as you know was a crack corps of volunteers raised by Colonel Lafont and consisting entirely of old soldiers, passed the evening with me yesterday. He was the only officer who saved the remains of his regiment, and brought them safe back from Sedan—though there were only 150 of them left. I found him to be a very intelligent officer. He told me things as to the state of Macmahon's army on its march to Sedan, which were almost incredible. Throughout the whole march, and in presence of the enemy there was no advanced guard, no pickets, no reconnoitring, and not even so much as a parole, or pass-word. In fact it would appear that the discipline of the whole French army had completely disappeared. A General commanding a corps, instead of occupying himself on his arrival at an encampment about the position and safety of his troops, took no precautions whatever. Officers and men dispersed in all directions, to find food and comfortable beds—and no precautions of any kind were taken. The men did not even pile their arms—but each carried his musket about with him. Mr. Robin assured me that this disorder and lack of discipline has been the same everywhere throughout the campaign till now. One instance he gave me was that at a fork where two roads divided, a Colonel of the staff had been stationed charged to remain at this place and direct the different bodies of troops as they came up to their destinations. It was a rainy day, and the Colonel got tired and went off, leaving a Captain on the staff to replace him. The Captain shortly followed his Colonel's example, leaving only a young officer of the *Garde Mobile* at his post. All this resulted in a body of 10,000 men being simply sent to a wrong destination. In the English army an officer who had committed such a dereliction of duty would have been shot. The troops of the line, moreover, were made up of the very dregs of the populace. Now things are much better managed. In the first place the class of men serving in the ranks is much better, comprising many men of education. In the second, severe discipline is being established and maintained. For my part, I know, that being on the staff, I shall have an opportunity of keeping up discipline, and I shall do my best to aid. There is no doubt that we shall in a very few days, probably before the end of the month, make a vigorous effort to revictual Paris, and I think better than I did of our chances of success.

I was quite delighted to-day by getting letters, and very kind letters from Helen and Cha. These are the first I have had since I left Smyrna, from any one, and I was getting quite sick at heart at the

constant answer at the post : " Nothing for you, Sir." I heard from Granier, who tells me that the mail from Smyrna was not yet in. I hope therefore to get letters thence tomorrow.

Tours. November 18, 1870. Evening.

I have been to the Headquarters Staff. I am named as Captain on the Staff of the 3rd Division of the 18th Corps, at Nevers. My General is General Chabran (I do not know how to spell his name). Bourbaki is recalled from Lille, to command the 18th Corps, which I do not much like. I am to start at once, and shall be at Nevers tomorrow or next day. I hope to arrange after all for M. de Fleury's horses. For this I am to return to the Headquarters Staff at 10 this evening, and hope then to get an order for the horses, in which case, I shall start again tomorrow morning for the *Château Santenay*. I meet with the most cordial reception from the Headquarters Staff, and have received very high compliments in every direction for my plan of defence. I have been asked by *The Times*, the *Manchester Guardian* and the *New York Herald* to correspond with them !!

The greatest interest is excited here about the Russian question. The French naturally hope for England as an ally, in which hope, I must own, I join—as I believe that Prussia and Russia are agreed, and that if England really wishes to prevent the aggression of Russia in the east, nothing but war is left for her.

I was to have dined with the correspondent of the *New York Herald* tonight, but when I got to his hotel, I had forgotten his name, and could not find him. As I have plenty to do, I am glad of this.

Tours. November 19, 1870.

Yesterday evening I returned at 10 o'clock to the Headquarters Staff, but found that though the papers for my horses were ready they were not yet signed. I was told that I must return to Headquarters this afternoon at five, when I should positively get them. This however delays my departure, as I must go to get the horses tomorrow, and cannot start for Nevers till the 21st instant at soonest. I had a long conversation with Colonel des Orties, Adjutant General to the Chief of the Staff, and with Major Poulevoy of the Engineers, his Assistant, on the subject of my plan, which they both support. I did not leave them till midnight. They have asked me to translate into French, for the use of the army, a short English treatise on field fortifications which I have with me—for there are no professional works to be had in the provinces. My translation when completed is to be printed by Government and distributed to the officers. I am promised promotion shortly. There is no news from the front to-day, both armies simply retaining their position.

The editor of *La France* has just been to call upon me, and has offered in case of need to support my plan, with which he thoroughly

agrees, in his paper. If it is not adopted at once, I shall have a very powerful and highly respectable party who will push it on.

I have just heard again from Helen and Cha. Their letter is dated the 16th. They had letters from Ella up to the 3rd November, but mine from Smyrna have not yet come.

Tours. November 19, 1870. Midnight.

This evening I got a letter from Major de Poulevoy, telling me that Gambetta wished to see me. I had not asked for an interview, the initiative came from him entirely. He had been struck with my plan of defence, and wished to adopt it—but desired to hear me first. I had an interview with him, and he heard me most attentively, giving the order before our interview was over to issue the decree for the formation of the camps—adopting the whole of my idea. He has charged me with a special mission to General Crouzat commanding at Gien in Loiret, which is one of our most important positions now. This is his letter :

République Française.

Gouvernement de la Défense Nationale.

Le Membre du Gouvernement de la Défense Nationale, Ministre de l'Intérieur, délégués par lui à . . . Paris du 1er Octobre 1870 . . . auprès de . . . Général Crouzat commandant les forces rassem . . ., Monsieur le Capitaine du génie Ogilvy, attaché à l'Etat Major du 18me corps et qui en est détaché momentanément. M. le Capitaine Ogilvy a toute ma confiance. Je me suis longuement entretenu avec lui sur les opérations militaires. Je sais que Gien est en sûreté en les vaillantes mains du Général Crouzat. Je lui envoie M. Ogilvy pour l'assister dans sa mission, et je le prie de le faire asseoir au conseil avec voix délibérative.*

Tours le 19 Nov. 1870.

(Signed) Léon Gambetta.

P.S. Garibaldi has had a success at Châtillon, near Autun.

* This page of the diary is torn, making the text incomplete.

CORRESPONDENCE

POWER CONFLICTS IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

To the Editor of THE FORTNIGHTLY.

Sir,

The Dutch people have long got tired of being misrepresented (mostly on purpose) as a "colonial power" wishing to institute a "colonial régime" in Indonesia, of obstructing those who fight for "freedom" and so forth and so on.

The climax indeed was reached by Mr. Werner Levi in the June number of *THE FORTNIGHTLY* where he says that Dutch action plays into communist hands, thereby entitling the United States to interfere. This is really calling white black—a satisfactory settlement of the Indonesian question has already been held up for several years by well-nigh intolerable foreign interference.

The leaders of the "Republic" want to dominate the whole of Indonesia, entirely against the will and wishes of its peoples. These leaders have proved themselves during their short rule in Yocjakarta utterly incapable of creating anything but chaos, hunger and misery and corruption. They were unable to rule and unwilling to keep their engagements and assurances. The bulk of the population rejoiced when it was delivered from their so-called rule and when law and order were once more established.

The Dutch nation is surprised and distressed and perplexed to see the United States, through complete lack of understanding of the situation (I use these words emphatically), siding with the U.S.S.R. on the re-installing of these individuals in their former position and in thwarting the Dutch in their plans to create a healthy Federation of free and independent Indonesian States as a Commonwealth. The attitude of the U.S.S.R. causes no surprise whatever. Anything that can bar the road to communist domination in Asia is anathema to them. They are only too pleased that through their dominant position in the Security Council they can count upon the United States to carry out their well-known policy and set the clock back in Indonesia. They must be laughing up their sleeves. Subtle and carefully camouflaged propaganda is at work to poison the public mind against the Dutch.

The Dutch need no self-advertisement. The roads and railways, the schools and colleges, the engineering works and harbours, the absence of famine and epidemics, and the tremendous increase in population in the whole of Indonesia: all these speak for themselves.

They have thoughtfully and systematically prepared their "erstwhile colonies" for modern and progressive self-government. Why all this continuous and mischievous interference?

Yours faithfully,

WILLIAM J. OUDENDYK.

Sesame Imperial & Pioneer Club,
49, Grosvenor Street, London, W.1.

THE FORTNIGHTLY LIBRARY

BOOKS FROM SWITZERLAND

BY RENÉ ELVIN

IN normal times, the bicentenary of Goethe's birth would have been a festive occasion for German publishers. As it is, it has been left to a Swiss firm, the Artemis Verlag in Zurich, to bring out what promises to remain for many years the best and most complete edition. *Goethe : Gedenkausgabe der Werke, Briefe und Gespräche* is obviously the outcome of an earnest endeavour to make it in presentation, completeness and textual accuracy a worthy memorial to the towering genius of the greatest of all Germans, and at the same time to conform as closely as possible to Goethe's own conception of what such an edition should be like. He wanted it to be portable : the format of this commemorative edition is a handy crown octavo, and it is printed on the thinnest India paper compatible with perfect opacity and easy handling. He is known to have preferred Roman to Gothic type : it is printed throughout in an elegant Garamond that makes for a perfectly balanced typographical layout. In fact, this concern for graphic excellence is responsible for what must be considered the one drawback of an otherwise exemplary edition. For modern readers, and especially for those not brought up on Goethean lore, many lines require for their full appreciation a glossary and notes that should be instantly available. Instead, we have here, at the end of each volume, the introduction and commentaries by the general editor, Professor Ernst Beutler, and his associates ; valuable though they are, as could be expected from the foremost authority on Goethe to-day, they do not replace the running footnotes on the text page.

Of course, disquisitions on Goethe

abound ; one of the best is Fritz Strich's *Goethe und die Weltliteratur* (A. Francke Verlag A.G., Berne), a vast and searching inquiry into the poet's world-wide influence. Other works devoting many pages to his art and personality include Wolfgang Kayser's *Das sprachliche Kunstwerk* (Francke), a well-balanced investigation of the German language as a work of art ; Walter Muschg's *Tragische Literaturgeschichte* (Francke) a history of German literature stressing the characteristically tragic fate of so many German writers ; Ernest Robert Curtius's *Europäische Literaturgeschichte und Lateinisches Mittelalter* (Francke), a massive and learned treatise on the impact of the revival of the study of antiquity during the Middle Ages on the development of European civilization, and Mario Pensa's arresting essay on German philosophy, *Das deutsche Denken* (Eugen Rentsch Verlag, Erlenbach), which has a penetrating chapter on Goethe's poetic pantheism.

Switzerland's neutral position enables her critics and historians to take a dispassionate view of the literary and political turmoil beyond her frontiers. Thus, Max Rychner's new book of literary essays, *Die Welt im Wort* (Manesse Verlag, Zürich), once more illustrates his sane and balanced outlook, matched by a lightly-borne but comprehensive erudition. Among historians, Erich Eyck is distinguished by similar qualities ; his latest book, *Das persönliche Regiment Wilhelms II* (Rentsch) is a remarkably fair and readable account of the disastrous foreign policy pursued by the one man who had it in his power to prevent the first world war and its calamitous sequence of catastrophes. Despite its

catchpenny title, Egon Cäsar Conte Corti's *Metternich und die Frauen* (Europa Verlag, Zurich) is an able survey of the period of which that statesman was perhaps the most representative figure.

One of the most useful jobs undertaken by Swiss publishers is the re-issue of accepted classics and half-forgotten masterpieces, an endeavour in which the attractively produced *Manesse Bibliothek der Weltliteratur* (Conzett & Huber, Zurich) has been particularly successful. Recent volumes include, among English works, Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* and Joseph Conrad's *Typhoon*; a Chinese anthology of ghost and love stories, *Chinesische Geister-und Liebesgeschichten*; the Italian dramatist Vittorio Alfieri's autobiography (*Mein Leben*), that vivid description of his storm-tossed career; welcome reprints of such minor classics as the poems and stories of Annette von Droste-Hülshoff, the German Emily Brontë; Wilhelm Raabe's *Stopfkuchen*; Theodor Fontane's *Der Stechlin*; the legendary but now too little read *Tales* of E. T. A. Hoffmann and Alexander von Villers' *Briefe eines Unbekannten*, introspective essays not unlike H.F. Amiel's famous *Journal Intime*. Another series, the *Sammlung Birkhäuser*, has published *inter alia* the works of Shakespeare in the incomparable Schlegel-Tieck translation, and that masterpiece of English humanism, Thomas More's *Utopia*, in finely printed, inexpensive volumes.

One of the pioneers in contemporary architecture was the Swiss engineering genius Robert Maillart, to whom the architect Max Bill devotes an interesting study (Verlag für Architektur, Erlenbach) showing how he spanned the deep ravines of his native valleys with those wonderfully light and graceful structures of pre-stressed concrete and steel that his disciples have since imitated all over the world. The Swiss qualities of simplicity and cool sobriety are also proving well in keeping with modern trends in interior decoration, and the volume *Rooms and*

Furniture (Verlag für Architektur) demonstrates how, combined with conscientious workmanship, they have created a style of universal appeal today.

The questing spirit of the Swiss goes far afield and their art books range as far as man's creative endeavour; thus, *Meisterwerke Chinesischer Tuschzeichnungen* (Amstutz, Herdeg & Co., Zurich) shows the serene delicacy and slender grace of Chinese painting, while Peter Meyer's *Europäische Kunstgeschichte* (Schweizer Spiegel) boldly takes the whole field of European art from paleolithic man to Picasso for its province and surveys it with massive knowledge and keen insight. Giuseppe Delogu's *Italianische Baukunst* (Fretz & Wasmuth), a conspectus of ten centuries of Italian architecture, relies mainly on the descriptive power of pictures and restricts the letterpress to brief but sagacious historical and aesthetic comments. A similar plan has been adopted for *Meisterwerke aus Oesterreich* (Europa Verlag, Zurich), whose 158 superb plates in colour and monochrome form a beautifully illustrated memento of the treasures from the Vienna museums now exhibited at the Tate Gallery. The Baroque period in architecture is magnificently exemplified in Hanspeter Landolt's *Schweizer Barockkirchen* (Huber & Co., Frauenfeld), which shows how the eighteenth century South German School and its florid over-ornate style produced, under the influence of traditional Swiss restraint, such masterpieces as the grandiose Einsiedeln abbey.

In the fine series of art monographs, the *Scherz Kunstbücher* (Alfred Scherz Verlag, Berne), a number of new volumes have appeared in which the quality of the plates is matched by the excellence of the text. They include studies of *Ingres* by Karl Scheffler, of *Toulouse-Lautrec* by Walter Kern, of *Henri Rousseau* by his protector and friend, the late Wilhelm Uhde, and of the Bernese artist *Cuno Amiet* by the editor of the series, Professor Gotthard Jedlicka.

PROBLEMS OF SOCIALIST ENGLAND, by Bertrand de Jouvenal. Translated by J. F. Huntington, with an Introduction by Geoffrey Crowther. *Batchworth Press*. 12s. 6d.

M. de Jouvenal has now added a post-crisis summing up to the striking book he published in France two years ago, *Problemes de l'Angleterre Socialiste* (*La Table Ronde*, Paris, 1947). Writing as a candid but friendly critic, in a style which for its clarity and grace is enviable, he presents the drama of Britain's social revolution. The rapid review of recent events has been done before, though nowhere better or with such balance and economy of words. But this writer proceeds to dig deeper and expose the moral problems. It could have been a ponderous work full of statistics. M. de Jouvenal is, however, a Frenchman who bears his learning lightly. The rapier thrust and the deft phrase are more accurate and effective than columns of figures and volumes of statistics.

Our best brains are jaded and over-worked, too busy a-doing to explain or even to think. Drugged by the infantile slogans of wartime we lack the perception and energy to sweep away our mental rubbish. That it was left to a foreigner to hit so many nails squarely on the head shows how thoughtless we have become. Thus the Labour leaders plunged into their great experiment with the pre-constituted plans ready to hand, elaborated by pre-war pioneers. The electorate knew what to expect; they had been told for years, and the plans were honestly applied. They were good plans—for the 1930's. But by 1945 they had become the wrong plans, as we painfully learnt, and honesty is one of the lesser political virtues. Yet our critic is fair; he distributes the blame for events outstripped minds.

M. de Jouvenal regards England as the look-out man for Europe. He admires the felicitous polygamy which we practise in our political ideology and hopes that in England Socialism which

was a sentiment may, as it must, become a technique. Politics is the art of the possible; that axiom was re-learned in 1947. Economics is a social science and fallible; statistics are no guarantee against error and disaster. Success in the modern planned State, for all its paraphernalia of book-keeping, is still based upon guesswork tempered by experience and political sagacity. As a continental he has a lively awareness of the modern danger—that the State will acquire omnipotence to conceal its lack of omniscience. He is a humanist who prefers the welfare of the citizen to the apparent vindication of a theory. Nationalization may be but monopoly made respectable, and can be equally anti-social. He is a democrat who believes in progress, but who despairs of a 'new spirit' which claims not so much the right of capacity to rise as that of incapacity not to be outstripped. A planned economy is good only when it materially rewards socially useful and public-spirited activity. He is caustic about the "self-satisfied slumber of the unassailably placed and the Lucullan expansion of over-heads" in "public corporations which do not feel the sordid anxieties induced by the profit-and-loss account."

Socialism is not merely a rationalized method of organizing production. Our political problems are at bottom moral problems. To the extent that British Socialism has deserted those moral ideas which brought it to power it is losing the support of socially dynamic elements whose devoted labours it most urgently needs in the elaboration of a new technique of living. At Blackpool this Whitsun the Labour Party leaders worked hard to teach some of these simple truths. This prescient foreign observer hopes much of our native common-sense and moral qualities, and believes that by patient trial we can discover that technique for which all Europe looks. It is an elegant and germinal book, a contemporary classic, which is now beautifully translated and produced.

EWAN WALLIS-JONES.

MANAGEMENT FOR PRODUCTION. *British Institute of Management.* 2s. 6d.

PARTNERSHIP FOR ALL, by John Spedan Lewis. *Kerr-Cros Publishing Co.* 12s. 6d.

LABOUR, by P. Sargant Florence. *Hutchinson's University Library.* 7s. 6d.

Many executives now find it difficult to divide their time between reading all that is written on how to do their job and putting the well intentioned advice into practice. The B.I.M. with an obvious eye towards the practical, have produced a booklet which might well be entitled "How to run a factory—in fifty pages." In a clearly arranged and nicely balanced form it sets out the essentials of all the arts and sciences (and there are both) which must be applied if a modern factory is to produce happily and efficiently. A complete set of references makes it easy for the serious student to read more widely along any particular line he needs. To compare pre-planned maintenance to Alice's "White Queen" putting plaster on her finger to-day because she is going to prick it tomorrow, shows that the authors have sufficient mastery of their subject.

The successful practice of the art of working together is undoubtedly one of the essential requirements of this age and John Spedan Lewis tells of his part in the conception and growth of a great experiment of planned partnership. The book is intended to put on record the facts and ideas of Mr. Lewis's life and business over the past 40 years, and so perhaps 475 pages, with another 50 for appendix and index, should not be considered too much. This business philosopher's reference book makes no claim to deal with the ways and means of running the practical side of an organization. Although written mainly in narrative style, like most books of reference, a little of it goes a long way at any one sitting. Mr. Lewis has difficulty in finding a real formula to equate what men should do to ensure the best form of life for

others as well as for themselves and what in fact they actually do to look after themselves without hurting others perhaps too badly. It would seem that, subconsciously at least, he is aware of the mistrust that the masses feel for those who start with allegedly unearned wealth to be used for the benefit of others, and so the problem—does the partnership really offer any advantages to the partners that are not available to the members of any well managed concern to-day?—remains unsolved to the end.

Professor Florence writes for the student as professors should, but all can easily and profitably read his masterly book. The highly practical side of his outlook is soon revealed: "A manual on labour must not neglect what labour is ultimately for . . . or further on: "But for the main purpose of industry—production—factories must be managed by specialized, trained and experienced professionals appointed for their efficiency by those who can judge and compare efficiency." The full measure of his mind is revealed by lucid definitions such as: "Strikes . . . are in fact, organised collective absenteeism . . ." The book is packed with facts, which yet are so linked together with reasoned discussion that reading is a pleasure. It is interesting to be reminded that in Russia, as far back as 1930, the rôle of the trade unions had to be changed from helping the worker fight the employer (old style) to helping the employer (by then the State) to implement the policy necessary for the survival of the country. But no one who reads this book could find a bias towards any particular party's idea on the most effective use of labour.

JOHN SOWELS.

EGYPTIAN SERVICE: 1902—1946, by Sir Thomas Russell Pasha, K.B.E., C.M.G. *John Murray.* 18s.

Retired civil servants and officers with a distinguished record behind them are nowadays easily persuaded to

make books out of their experiences. Many of these books provide good fare for the casual reader, a few possess literary merit and a few more supply historians, naturalists and other specialists with new material.

Russell Pasha's memoirs of his long service in Egypt belong essentially to the last category. That is not to say that they are not well-written or entertaining. They are both, but their outstanding merit is that the story they tell conforms to the reality of life in Egypt as observed by a man who took the trouble, at some sacrifice of comfort and ease, to get under the skin of the common people, to absorb the essence of village politics, to master the meaning and uses of the desert (which is not to him as it is to many British soldiers or Nilotic Egyptians "miles and miles of damn all") and to make himself an authority on the birds, beasts and reptiles of the country. Russell Pasha has succeeded, better than most people, in preserving his early impressions of Egypt unblurred by time and habit, and the descriptions of his training with the Coastguards and of his experiences as an Inspector of Interior in the provinces were written some forty years later with all the zest and liveliness of youth. His talent for police work and his taste for "rough-housing" had not escaped the notice of his chiefs and at the age of thirty he was transferred to Alexandria as Assistant Commandant of Police. There he graduated in the different branches of war against lawlessness and, in particular, acquired a knowledge of the intricacy and extent of the dope traffic.

The next move was to Cairo, where after three strenuous wartime years full of incident and responsibility, he succeeded the retiring Commandant, Colonel Harvey Pasha, and remained at the head of the Cairo City Police for no less than 28 years. During this period the author's life was physically less adventurous than when he was chasing brigands in the "rif" or cattle thieves in the desert, but in some professions the office can provide

almost as many thrills as the field. Russell Pasha's experiences in the Philippides case and in the campaign against the murder gang who were responsible for the death of numerous Englishmen and whose crimes culminated in the killing of Sir Lee Stack, make most interesting reading. The story would be even more enthralling if the author had not such a right-minded appreciation of the necessity for reticence, where Anglo-Egyptian relations are involved.

The creation of the Narcotics Intelligence Bureau and the unsleeping war waged by Russell Pasha and his staff against the drug-traffickers is described in some detail in the closing chapters of this book. The crusade against this deadly menace to the Egyptian people, and not to them alone, was, in its international aspect, rather outside the beat of the average police chief. It took Russell to Geneva, where his sincerity and massive knowledge convinced the Members of the Opium Commission of the League of the urgency of his plea for strict control of the manufacture and transport of narcotics and awakened the conscience of several governments, which had not realized the harm they were doing by doing nothing. As Sir Thomas points out, the traffickers of the Levant were cunning and ingenious to a high degree, but courage and manhood were qualities which few of them possessed, fortunately for the staff of the Bureau who were all the time exposed to the risk of assassination but in fact were never attacked. It is probably owing to their lack of the fighting instinct that one finds the accounts of the dope rings and their activities definitely less interesting than the pages devoted to riots, snake-charmers, desert sport and the famous police dog "Captain Hall" who was regarded as a kind of demon by the criminals of Cairo and the neighbouring mudiriyehs.

Russell Pasha's book will give much pleasure to anyone who has served and worked in Egypt during the past half century. Anglo-Egyptians — and

Egyptians too—will recognize the authenticity of his work, which has nothing in common with the smatterings of most journalists and globe trotters.

R. M. GRAVES.

WHILE SHEPHEARD'S WATCHED,
by Pennethorne Hughes. *Chatto & Windus*. 10s. 6d.

While Shepherd's Watched—what a good title!—is two thirds a period piece and one third a "history lesson". The "period" is 1943 and the "piece" is Cairo. The "lesson" covers Egyptian evolution since Napoleon's invasion in 1798. Mr. Pennethorne Hughes' "period" narrative is lively and shrewdly written with a nice smack of the same provocative impishness as inspired Major Jarvis in *Oriental Spotlight*. Shafts positively rain from the blue of Cairo's skies. But the author is less lavish in his bouquets; and although British soldiers and civilians and the Allied forces and the alien communities, to say nothing of the Egyptians themselves, may enjoy what is written about and against others, I am less sure that they will be equally "amused" by many of the references to themselves.

This comment should not be taken as challenging the genuineness of many of Mr. Pennethorne Hughes' Egyptian "finds". All that I imply is that in his excavations his spade often becomes such a "bloody shovel" that though I laughed with him as I read, I was often left with a rather sad sympathy for the objects of his attentions and found myself saying: "Was Cairo, were the British troops, and the Allies and the aliens, and the Egyptians as fatuous, as silly or as low as all that in that Egyptian year of bathos 1943 when war had just ebbed westwards?" For 1943 was bathos. Gone for ever was the inspiring impetus of the great years of struggle under Wavell, Auchinleck and Alexander. The Egypt and the Cairo which Mr. Pennethorne Hughes saw in 1943, was flat, exhausted and fed-up—and showed it. Still he has

been a first-rate observer, a witty commentator and—above all—a superb listener. And he listened a lot.

So much for the "period piece". Now for the "history lesson" as he calls it (page 137). It is short, vivid and exhaustive; and despite one or two factual inaccuracies, it is a most creditable effort to compress into some seventy coherent and authoritative pages an account and an analysis of one hundred and fifty years of Egyptian social, religious and national history. Here again Mr. Pennethorne Hughes has commented shrewdly and with a purposeful candour almost amounting at times to brutality. The Egypt he studied is, in his opinion, very ripe for change; its present state is unbalanced and unhealthy and he makes no secret of his sympathy with the ill-nourished, disease-stricken, helpless Egyptian peasantry whose lot must be improved. His conclusions which, however, he states with surprising diffidence, hint at compromise between old schools and new schools of thought in the field of religion, politics, economics, industrialization and social outlook.

Taken as a whole *While Shepherd's Watched* is informative, provocative and amusing, and Mr. Pennethorne Hughes has hit a great many Egyptian nails on the head—though at times with all too heavy a hammer. The text is supported by an extremely amusing set of drawings by Hard Hodson. They absolutely hit off the unique atmosphere of Cairo at its most ridiculous and are a triumph of economic outline.

OWEN TWEEDY.

ROMANCE OF THE BOSPHORUS,
by Dorina, Lady Neave. *Hutchinson*. 21s.

MALTA, by Sir Harry Luke. *Harrap*. 15s.

It might be thought that a book on Turkey, written by a lady who lived there in the days of Abdul Hamid, would have little of interest seeing that the Turks have so radically transformed their ways. There was not much

the Imperial administration that one could admire and the wonder is that modern Turkey has made such progress in so short a time.

Lady Neave belonged to one of the British families with a long tradition of service in the Levant, the same being the case with her mother's family who to-day are represented by Mr. Cumberbatch, our admirable Commercial Attaché in Athens, who, though Lady Neave does not mention him, became General Scobie's political adviser a few years ago. Many are the interesting 'side-lights' told us of life in Turkey in years gone by; Lady Neave was present when two Armenian twins were christened, being immersed in oil at the age of three, a process which they resisted so vigorously that, after the struggle, the vestments of the priest had lost much of their beauty. But the twins were not allowed to have a bath for forty days, in order to permit the holy oil to soak thoroughly into their bodies. By the way Lady Neave is not quite accurate in saying that no priest of the Greek Church is allowed to marry; this only applies to the bishops and archimandrites, all other priests being permitted to marry. In Czarist Russia, it will be recalled, a simple priest was obliged to marry, as this was considered to make him more respectable. Lady Neave remembers that when the foreign Ambassadors demanded that the massacres of Armenians should be stopped they were told by the Grand Vizier that under no circumstances could the Sultan be disturbed; she does not mention that the famous publicist, Dr. E. J. Dillon, though the Grand Vizier forbade him to go to Armenia, went in disguise as a Russian officer and was received with military honours.

Sir Harry Luke delves a good deal further into the past, telling us of those distant days when Malta was part of the land that joined Europe to Africa, from which remote time the bones of pachyderms remain to-day in the cave of Ghar Dalam. Perhaps many of Sir Harry's readers in England will be

more interested in his testimonial to the excellence of Maltese servants; and, as no Maltese woman thinks she has done well until she has produced at least a dozen children one may ask why Maltese maids are not yet flocking to this country. The energetic Trade Commissioner might open a department to deal with this matter.

There is a great deal more about Malta that one learns from Sir Harry's book, as was only to be expected, considering that he was for eight years the Lieut.-Governor, and one who obviously loved his task. There is no aspect of Maltese life to which the reader is not introduced and so fascinating are many of the stories that, as Malta is happily in the sterling area, the number of her visitors should greatly increase. Sir Harry might have mentioned that in the neighbouring island of Gozo, Malta's little green sister, a bottle of the charming golden wine costs about sixpence.

In this small island measuring a mere seventeen miles in length great things have occurred, such as two of the most celebrated sieges in history, and famous men have followed each other there, from the days of the Grand Masters to those of Napoleon (whose stay was not altogether enjoyable) and Coleridge, who was the Governor's secretary for a time and so delighted him that if he had been a wealthy man he would, he said, have given the poet £500 a year to dine with him twice a week, so profoundly did he appreciate Coleridge's conversation. We are fortunate that for a lesser sum we can enjoy Sir Harry's admirable book.

HENRY BAERLEIN.

GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS: A Study of Poetic Idiosyncrasy in Relation to Poetic Tradition, Vol. II, by W. H. Gardner. *Secker & Warburg.* 30s.

THE DIARIES OF FRANZ KAFKA, Vol. II, edited by Max Brod. *Secker & Warburg.* 16s.

The second volume of Dr. Gardner's authoritative study of Hopkins is not so

much a continuation of the first as a commentary, adding all that previously had to be left out because of the limitations of publishing. It consists of a survey of the poetical antecedents of Hopkins and of the sources of his technical experiments, together with a line-by-line analysis of the poems, excluding, however, those that were dealt with in Volume I. As these latter include "*The Deutschland*" "*The Windhover*", and the two "*Echoes*", it is hard not to feel, unless one continually refers to the first volume, that this is a show without Punch. Dr. Gardner is clearly aware of the awkwardness of this method of publishing, and it is to be hoped that one day circumstances will allow him to rearrange the work into the more straightforward shape in which he must originally have conceived it.

To his study of the poet's sources in Greek, Latin, Anglo-Saxon and Welsh, the author brings great scholarship and care. From these various traditions Hopkins learnt rhythms which had not been heard in English poetry for three or four hundred years, a richness of orchestration which had never been heard before, and also new potentialities of syntax—for many of what seem to be personal idiosyncrasies are, in fact, attempts to adapt into English the grammatical form of other languages.

Not all were successful, but Dr. Gardner is not making too great a claim that "these abrupt, condensed, parenthetic, spontaneous modes of expression produce a peculiar semantic rhythm which reinforces, and is itself reinforced by, the natural sprung rhythm of passionate speech." Moreover, in spite of occasional peculiarities, the effect of the verse is never exotic but always proudly native, drawing its subject matter, its manner of thought, and above all its words from the true tradition of English and Welsh life. Though Hopkins was not often colloquial in his verse, no English poet had an ear more closely attuned to common speech—many of his most individual inventions are forged out of the

language of everyday life ("Didst fettle for the great grey drayhorse his bright and battering sandal").

Dr. Gardner's criticism is of that valuable and exhilarating sort which sends the reader over and over again to the poems themselves, always with a new understanding; often there is enough on a page to make you ponder for an hour. This book should remain for a long time the foundation stone for criticism of the poet.

There is much in the character of Hopkins which resembles that of Kafka. Both felt a sense of conflict and unfulfilment, both endured the debility of sexual frustration; both were aware of the rot at the heart of modern civilization. But while the Victorian poet confronted his difficulties with defiant faith, Kafka could fortify himself with no more than half-hopes and gropings towards the truth. This very uncertainty, however, brings him closer to us, so that, perhaps more than any other, he seems to express the fundamental crisis of our time.

This second volume of the *Diaries* edited by his biographer, Max Brod, deals with the period 1914-1923, when he was writing his most important works. As we read we can see how the peculiar problems of his engagement and his health both helped to shape the vision which was to become *The Castle* and *The Trial*. We see too, how his allegories revealed themselves first as images, almost as clairvoyancies, from which Kafka had to deduce the meaning in the same way as we ourselves must do when we read him. Image after image comes to him—dreams, fantasies, tiny anecdotes—and, as he jots them down in his diary, many have something of the profound implications of his novels concentrated into a few lines:

Dreams: In Berlin, through the streets to her house . . . Ask the way of an affable, red-nosed old policeman who in this instance is stuffed into a sort of butler's livery.

This book is essential for the full understanding of an immensely important writer. NORMAN NICHOLSON.

HENRY DAVID THOREAU, by Joseph Wood Krutch. *Methuen*. 15s.

EDWIN ARLINGTON ROBINSON, by Emery Neff. *Methuen*. 15s.

These are the first two volumes of a new series of which some twenty are projected. The editors propose to include novelists, historians, philosophers, statesmen and poets, who, as writers, have influenced American thought. The range is extensive, from Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln, from Emerson to William James, from Mark Twain to Theodore Dreiser. In poetry alone the list seems meagre, but in pioneer and statesman is rich. The choice of the first two names is significant: the author of *Walden*, whose stature increases, and Edwin Arlington Robinson, who may yet achieve recognition as the major poet of the English-speaking world in the early twentieth century.

In the book on Thoreau, Professor Krutch of Columbia University, while dealing honestly, if rather tentatively, with the social responsibility theme—so tangled that it serves as an inspiration for the followers both of Gandhi and of Marx—succeeds in reviving the excitement of youth's first reading of *Walden*. He calls it one of the great seminal books of the nineteenth century, and to prove it sets Thoreau's concentrated sentences striding across his pages, full of "hard, severe words and stimulating taunts." Yet it is rather when he is dealing with Thoreau's inner life that he excels; his tenderness, the sense of abounding delight that he shared with the creatures, his quickening sense of urgency, above all his "continuous sense of being alive in a continuously beautiful world." This incisive, keen, provocative book should make the reader demand more of the unwieldy *Journals* to study for himself.

The second volume, by a Professor of English of Columbia University, in the quietness of its smoothly flowing style, and in the quality of its narrative, is in strong contrast. Its fascination lies

in the delicate and reticent probing of the development of a poet's mind. Criticism in England has been slow to recognize that in America, in 1916, a poem appeared that demanded equal discussion with the poetry of Wordsworth, or of Arnold. *The Man Against the Sky*, a Cowleyan ode, whose genesis is traced by Professor Neff, is in the great tradition. In the poet's sensitive boyhood he finds the seeds of an abiding sense of tragedy, met with lonely integrity and the "answerable courages" of New England. Robinson's concern is with the individual's responsibility for failure, with the light of the San Graal, and with

eternal remote things
That range across a man's imaginings.

His style is best indicated as a search for words that should be "smooth and shining and subtle, and very much alive," as befits a man whose poetry is the world's, though the poet be America's. Professor Neff's wise and delicately perceptive book is the first critical biography of Robinson published in this country.

The series promises to be a delightful and worthy contribution from America to our common heritage of letters.

GRACE A. WOOD.

ELEPHANT AND CASTLE, by R. C. Hutchinson. *Cassell*. 15s.

THE BODY, by William Sansom. *Hogarth Press*. 9s. 6d.

CRICKET IN HEAVEN, by Gerald Bullett. *Dent*. 7s. 6d.

R. C. Hutchinson is a very gifted novelist of great range and variety who can hold the reader's attention through a long story, and fill a large canvas with almost the richness of the Victorians. This mammoth novel of London life is the true story behind a trial for murder, the story of a marriage between a well bred, well educated girl, and a half Italian workman. Chance brings her to his street when he is being arrested for a violent attack on a policeman; she is obsessed by the idea

of him as a victim wronged by society, and marries him in a missionary spirit which brings unhappiness to both.

Perhaps Mr. Hutchinson, who has said that the idea was haunting his mind before the war (which prevented him from writing it for some years) had brooded for too long over the theme. Sometimes when a pot has gone off the boil, it is difficult to recover the first flavour. Anyhow in spite of the wealth of significant detail which clothes the bones of the plot, the novel does not really come to life. Armorer is never a living personality; the reader is not able to accept her strange marriage, nor her life in Lambeth and her relationships with her husband and children. There are beautiful things in this book, such as the death of old Maria Ardree, there are minor characters touched in with skill, there is much good writing and some moving passages, but the reader, never wholly absorbed into Mr. Hutchinson's created world, remains interested, critical and unbelieving.

Mr. William Sansom is one of the most brilliant short story tellers of the younger school, and his first novel has all the qualities of his short stories. It is brief and concise; it deals with one single theme; it is beautifully written with that power of bringing out the exciting quality of ordinary life which is one of Mr. Sansom's great gifts. The theme is jealousy, the causeless jealousy which springs in the imagination. Henry, the owner of a family hair-dressing business, a prosperous small householder in a London suburb, suffers the torments of Othello over a liaison between his wife and his next door neighbour which is entirely his own fabrication. The commonplace suburban background, so skilfully drawn, enhances the nightmare of self-intoxication in which Henry moves, until he has almost lost touch with reality by the end of the book. This is a novel on a small scale, it could almost have been a long short story, but it is very successful.

Mr. Gerald Bullett has put on an old

play in modern, or nearly modern dress. Silvester, the pompous, egotistical Victorian squire, is threatened with a death that he can only hope to escape if someone is willing to take his place. An old father with a few years left to live seems to him a suitable substitute, but the old father clings to his remnant of life, and it is his wife, Anthea, who accepts the risk on his behalf, and is only rescued by her husband's old friend who wrestles with Death himself for her life. Alcestis, in fact, rises once again from the shades. Was it worth doing again what was once so incomparably done for all time? Mr. Bullett thinks that it was and he has handled his pastiche with skill and humour, perhaps setting a trap for the unwary reviewer who does not remember his Euripides.

LETTICE COOPER.

AN INTRODUCTION TO EUROPEAN PAINTING, by Eric Newton. *Longmans, Green.* 8s. 6d.

Throughout the summer London's two national galleries are showing art treasures of great beauty and marvellous variety from Munich and Vienna. These two loan exhibitions coupled with our own magnificent permanent collections make London, for the time being, an artistic centre of unique importance. Here, as though to mitigate European capacity for conflict, violence and destruction, is the loveliest evidence of European capacity for vision, creation and craftsmanship.

The prevailing interest in art enhances the value of this brief, informative and easily read handbook by Mr. Eric Newton. All the more so because widely publicized controversies have revealed great differences of artistic opinion and caused much bewilderment in people's minds. Long established principles have been replaced by unfamiliar standards which seem to condone the kind of defects that hitherto have provoked the sharpest criticism.

But standards of criticism are not, and cannot be, constant. Each

age has its characteristic aesthetic dogmas. The work of great masters remains great; each age will give different reasons for affirming its greatness. It is likely, however, that there has never been a time when contemporary painting has been so completely estranged from day-to-day experience as it is at the present time.

The task of the modern historian-critic is a manifestly difficult one. His assessments of the past are necessarily and closely conditioned by current aesthetic thought. But, broadly speaking, the works and theories of modern painters are quite incomprehensible to the ordinary man. In him, they engender little or no response but a feeling of bemused resentment. In order to resolve confusion and dilute prejudices, the historian-critic has no option other than to make his own set of values clear from the start and to apply them consistently.

Mr. Newton has adopted the honest and conscientious expedient of going back to first principles. The early chapters of his book are devoted to a clear and luminous exposition of the arts in general, and painting and sculpture in particular. His method is to persuade the reader most convincingly that to appreciate fully a work of art of any period there must be an understanding and sharing of the artist's intentions, and that these intentions may be sharpened, blunted or deflected by the artist's relationship to his particular age and community. By means of this central theme, he contrives a successful co-ordination between present and past. The measure of his success is revealed in a final chapter where he shows that, provided there is sympathetic realization of underlying intentions, it is possible to appreciate the work of painters so far removed from one another as Verocchio, Rembrandt and Picasso, and to recognize without any sense of incongruity that each is part of the rich pattern created by the insatiable visual curiosity of the European.

F. W. WENTWORTH-SHEILDS

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ALL THE CONFERENCES ARE FAILURES. THIS IS INEVITABLE FOR HOLY SCRIPTURE DECLARES THEIR FUTILITY IN THESE WORDS:—

“Associate yourselves, O ye people
and ye shall be broken in pieces.”

“Take counsel together, and it
shall come to nought; speak the word,
and it shall not stand.”

“LET GOD BE YOUR FEAR,
AND LET GOD BE YOUR
DREAD.” (Isaiah viii.)

“*And it shall come to pass,
that WHOSOEVER shall CALL
on the name of the LORD shall
be delivered.*” (Joel ii. 32)

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BOOKS ON THE TABLE

This is no barrow boy's selection, with the best fruit in front and the raw, the over-ripe and the rotten spoiling the second and last pages. A good starting-point makes a much more likely candidate for first place than the most important book, though sometimes the two are one.

A French classic

They are this month ; moreover the position goes by precedence—the previous volumes occupied it—to *THE JOURNALS OF ANDRÉ GIDE : VOLUME III 1929-1939* (*Secker & Warburg*. 30s.), translated from the French and annotated by Justin O'Brien. The recording of these significant years alongside his intellectual and spiritual pilgrimage matches, for interest and inspiration, all that has gone before. At the opening he is 58 years old, full of distilled wisdom and authority ; and a few months before the war of eleven months later he finds himself at the end "frightfully free". He has sorted out here his own reactions in the examination of large issues in religion and politics ; why, for example, seeing well "how and why capitalism and Catholicism are bound up together," Communism and Christianity should not be reconciled. His constant asides, on music, on style in language, on the processes of thought, are a stimulus to his reader's speculative apparatus, inferior though it be, no less than to his own. His personal analysis has reached the pitch of clear-sightedness : "I should smoke less if I tried less to smoke less" is as self-revelatory as his observations on growing old.—A reading of André Gide's *FRUITS OF THE EARTH* (*Secker & Warburg*. 9s. 6d.), translated by Dorothy Bussy, is another signposting of his development, for the first part, *Les Nourritures Terrestres* was written over 50 years ago and *Les Nouvelles Nourritures*, the rest, appeared in 1935 ; the second to prove that 40

years had but confirmed and broadened the views he held at 27.

Learning the job

"Questions of style : one sins through ignorance, or through temerity," says André Gide. So next comes Eric Partridge with *ENGLISH : A Course for Human Beings* (*Winchester Publications*. 18s. 6d.) to leave a writer without any excuse for indulging either in these two or in the neglect of the tools of his trade—the grammar of accidence, syntax, parsing and analysis, punctuation and etymology—which leads to journalese, clichés, genteelisms, woolliness and ambiguity. His hints on how to use a dictionary, to paraphrase, to précis-write, on literary appreciation, on the general and historical aspects of language and on the connection between thought and expression help to fill an enormous and lively book. It is "designed to meet the needs of both teachers and pupils ; and of private students, whether British or American—or others." Yet this severely practical purpose did not deter one of the "others" from reading it all for fun.—A trace of awe tempers the enjoyment of *ADVICE TO A YOUNG POET* by Llewelyn Powys (*The Bodley Head*. 4s. 6d.). This is due not to the advice which is sound nor to the criticism which is encouraging but to something in the personality of the sick and dying Powys that was not apparent in his writing about sunshine, birds and flowers. But presumably Kenneth Hopkins, to whom the letters were addressed, was not repelled ; in a world always harsh to the unknown and struggling author, he should have only cause for gratitude to one who showed such business-like kindness.

Where shall I send it ?

"First catch your hare," as Mrs. Beeton did not say, and—having assimilated all the lessons of an Eric

Partridge and a Llewelyn Powys—proceed to cook it to some purpose with the help of THE WRITERS AND ARTISTS YEAR BOOK 1949 (A. & C. Black. 7s. 6d.). Only those who work in editorial offices see fully the results of the failure to make use of this publication. One of the commonest exasperations is the manuscript which betrays out loud the owner who can't be bothered to read a line of the magazine he hopes to interest; the length, the subject, the style are all misplaced. The whole art of pleasing an editor (if you have something to say) is here contained, together with lists of journals and their characteristics and of publishers at home and abroad. Then there are articles on all sorts of snags like copyright, libel, income tax, and those in agreements, serial rights and the provision of lyrics for composers. In short, there are details of the marketing of scripts, from broadcasting to valentines. It is reassuring to note the number of poetry awards in the literary prize section.

Submerging the poet

There are some who, missing the poetry of John Arlott, listen for echoes of it in the prose he keeps for cricket; in GONE TO THE TEST MATCH (Longmans Green. 9s. 6d.), which he subtitles "primarily an account of the Test series of 1948," they are not disappointed. One of them, who switches on to his B.B.C. commentaries for old acquaintance (and especially because he has been a FORTNIGHTLY poet), cut the scores and bowling analyses in his book and came to the 'hosses' in the shape of "Sketches of the Players." Cricket enthusiasts will find much else, and not least a number of action photographs, to excite recollection and to beguile.—Good for Christopher Hassall that poems and his newer interests do not conflict. THE SLOW NIGHT (Arthur Barker. 7s. 6d.), which shows an entirely pleasing title-page engraving by Joan Hassall, has the echo of satire in "Fanatics" and "Medical", of

tenderness in "Tube Shelter", of the pangs of hell in "Revision"; the evocative organ notes of Lincoln Cathedral sound in one of the most moving pieces in the book, and all six of his sonnets have the authentic touch. With the author's recent incursion into the field of biography vividly in mind, there is no difficulty in identifying the initials under "Death of an Actor" as Stephen Haggard's.

Both sides of the curtain

Those who regret the error in chronology which prevents them from having seen Garrick, Kean and Irving (though why should we worry when we have an Olivier *Richard III* or *Lear* and a Gielgud *Hamlet*?) will enjoy THE ACTOR AND HIS AUDIENCE by W. A. Darlington (Phoenix House. 12s. 6d.). Communicating the magic, a process that entails equal collaboration from this side of the footlights, is the theme. The dramatic critic of the *Daily Telegraph* indulges his "passion for the theatre" without airing violent prejudices. His last chapter "The Theatre in Convalescence" analyses the extraordinary post-war activity whereby this generation have "been given a chance to re-discover its appeal."—Reading the first article in SHAKESPEARE SURVEY 2, edited by Allardyce Nicoll (Cambridge University Press. 12s. 6d.), by Miss Muriel St. Clare Byrne recalls the delights of her exhibition in Albemarle Street on The History of Shakespearian Production in England. The second of these "series of yearly volumes dealing with Shakespearian discovery, history, criticism and production over all the world" maintains the standard which justifies continuance. Here are J. Dover Wilson's "Ben Jonson and *Julius Caesar*", "The Shakespearian additions in *The Booke of Sir Thomas More*" by R. C. Bald and many other scholarly studies in a handsomely bound, printed and illustrated volume under its disguising dust jacket, which takes an honoured place beside the

other on the shelf.—Also awaiting a companion there has been the George Farquhar collection of plays edited by William Archer, which it now finds in *YOUNG GEORGE FARQUHAR* by Willard Connely (*Cassell*. 21s.). Lightly shouldering its burden of research, this proclaims itself the first biography of the post-Restoration playwright and is thus much more detailed than Archer's Introduction was able to be. Though Mr. Connely does not press it, much of Farquhar himself is to be found in his four most famous plays, especially, as was noted here earlier this year, in their most squalid and amorous aspects. With all the characteristics of tubercular genius, he burnt himself out at the age of 29 but not before his work had taken an important place in contemporary comedy. He certainly revives in the 1940's at least as felicitously as do Congreve and Wycherley.

Using leisure

To point the moral to Farquhar's modern counterparts, though football pools and even church raffles are now more insidious inciters than gaming houses, a little book *GAMBLING AND THE CITIZEN* by Geoffrey Martin (*Student Christian Movement*. 2s. 6d.) comes next. The stock exchange and insurance are examined too, with greyhounds and horses, in the human and economic aspects of "sport" and by the light of the principle involved. The temptation of excitement—to boredom, to the poorly housed, with special reference to the young conscript with time on his hands—is not minimized and the plea for restraint is all the stronger for there being in it no element of scolding.

Where M.P. and parson meet

This is not a fault of the last two books either. The one, also from the *S.C.M. Press* (7s. 6d.), is *POLITICS AND PERSONS* by St. John B. Groser and puts the point of view of an Anglican priest

who is not ashamed or frightened to be called a socialist as well. This is unusual enough to ensure a fresh and refreshing story. It starts with ordination in 1914 and a first charge in Newcastle's dockland, and it continues still, after 25 years in London's Poplar. George Lansbury, with a personal influence surely immense and still potent, could not fail to have a part in Father Groser's political awareness, for when he arrived in Poplar, Lansbury and the Board of Guardians had just come out of prison. In examining the challenges to Christianity Father Groser has come to believe that British Labour "is capable of offering Europe a real alternative to Communism." For those who dream of saving themselves by uniting in a "holy war" against it, his warning is solemn and altogether convincing.—This was one of the books whose influence is acknowledged in the writing of the other, *NOTHING LEFT TO BELIEVE ?* by Sir Richard Acland, M.P. (*Longmans Green*. 8s. 6d.). For him the way to combat Communism is to sweep Christians and Christendom out of complacency and hypocrisy, and he believes that "it is part of God's purpose for us that we should now try to sustain personal freedom and political democracy on a world scale." His book is informed by the idealism, the burning sincerity, that characterize his platform appearances. Cynicism, escapism, defeatism—these are not for him. And who can say, with his remedy untried, that Richard Acland is wrong ?

Optimism and the sun

Perhaps, too, hope has the backing of high summer. Though not industry; the antics of the birds about the prunus at the garden door are endlessly diverting, and only involuntary raids on the last of the strawberries have kept these three pages on their dogged way to the signature of

GRACE BANYARD.